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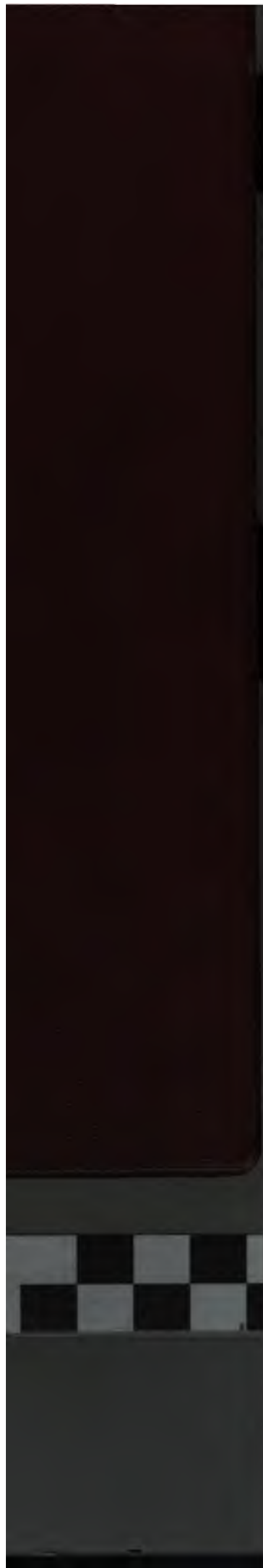
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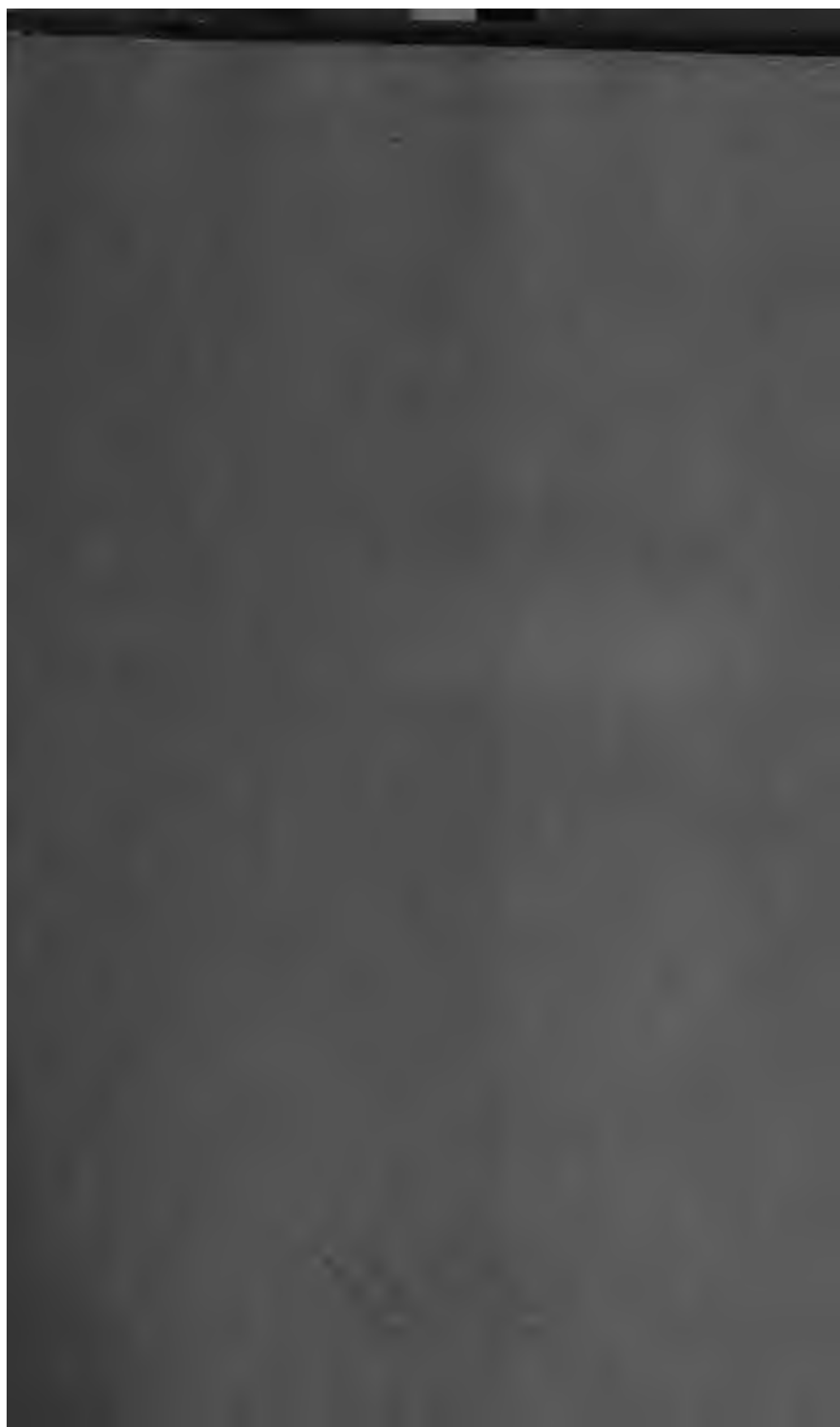
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QUEBEC PAST AND PRESENT

A HISTORY OF QUEBEC

1608-1876

IN TWO PARTS

By J. M. LE MOINE

AUTHOR OF

"L'ALBUM DU TOURISTE," "THE MAPLE LEAVES," &c.



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TO THE CITIZENS OF QUEBEC :

THIS VOLUME

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED BY

THE AUTHOR.

SPENCER GRANGE,
1st May, 1876.

PREFACE.

The history of Quebec for close on two centuries, may be said to be that of Canada. Her annals would furnish ample materials for three volumes. I have attempted to condense them in one. The work now offered to the public is divided into two parts: the first, comprises the annals of the city from 1608 to 31st December, 1875. It is composed of ten chapters, representing as many epochs in our history, each chapter bearing as a heading the leading event of such epoch. The second part, relating more properly to QUEBEC PRESENT, is descriptive of public Institutions,—Educational—Religious and Benevolent; City fortifications; Municipal matters; Trade; Shipping; Markets; Cemeteries, &c. Supplemented by the historical sketches which form the subject of

the *Maple Leaves* for 1865, and the new series for 1873, the work ought to afford a tolerably full retrospect of Quebec events. To the plans of city embellishments, suggested by Lord Dufferin, adopted by the Municipal Council and so eminently calculated to enhance the attractions of the city to strangers, and its healthiness to the inhabitants, ample space has been allotted in the volume; nay, its publication would have been deferred to another year, had its appearance at the present juncture not been considered a means of urging these much needed improvements on public attention.

Some years have now elapsed since I had to express for the first time, my grateful acknowledgment for the generous support meted out to my first efforts, to perpetuate in print, the attractions of this, my native, city. This agreeable duty again devolves on me to-day, in this my largest work.

I have now to return thanks to those who have materially helped me in the arduous task I have selected.

To the clergy of all denominations, this history of Quebec, owes a debt of gratitude, for the readiness with which Church Records, Reports, Registers, &c., have been made available.

To James Stevenson, Esquire, President of the *Literary and Historical Society*, I am indebted for papers relating to our Pioneer Atlantic Steamer the

“Royal William” ; to J. J. Foote, Esq., for the use of the Plates of the city embellishments ; to Messrs. L. E. Dorion, Chs. Baillairgé and L. A. Cannon, for statistics, &c., on municipal matters ; to Col. T. B. Strange, for information touching the new Levis Forts ; to Cyrille Tessier, Esq., well known for his antiquarian tastes, for data on several points of history ; to Messrs. E. W. Sewell and Hy. F. Bellew, for interesting notes and papers on the Levis Winter Ferry ; to J. W. Dunscomb, Esq., for tables respecting ships and commerce ; to Drs. W. Marsden, H. Larue, and G. T. Cary, Esq., for statistics on cholera, &c ; to Mr. J. C. Langelier, for particulars and cost of several public edifices, &c. In the graphic sketches of some religious or benevolent institutions, my readers will have recognized the elegant pen of several members of the press, Messrs. Stuart Hughes, Leslie Thom, J. Jordan, &c.

THE AUTHOR.

Spencer Grange, 1st May, 1876.



INTRODUCTION.

JACQUES-CARTIER'S THREE VOYAGES. — THE GRANDE HERMINE. — THE PETITE HERMINE. — THE EMERILLON.—FIRST WINTER ON THE ST. CHARLES, 1535-6. — WINTER QUARTERS AT CAP ROUGE, 1540-1.

Jacques-Cartier is generally supposed to be the first European who penetrated into the interior of Canada.

Pope Alexander VI, by a Bull, had granted all America to the Spaniards and Portuguese. Francis I, King of the French, a practical as well as a religious Sovereign, as abbé Faillon observes, having his doubts as to the legality of that grant, asked to see the clause of Adam's Will bequeathing this legacy. King Francis withal, was the "Eldest son of the Church;" as such it was, he opined, incumbent on him to spread the true faith, whilst making discoveries in this wondrous New World, the existence of which Columbus had recently proclaimed to Europe. King Francis, therefore, resolved to try his hand as well as his royal brothers of Spain and Portugal, at discovering and colonising. In 1523, the Florentine, Verrasano, was sent out by him with four ships from Dieppe; storms and other causes reduced to one his equipment—the Dolphin,—with which Verrasano explored that portion of the American continent which now constitutes the coast of North Carolina—Virginia—the Bay of New York—the coast of Maine; his account forwarded on the 8th July, 1524, to his royal master, is the earliest description known of the shores of the United States. Alas for earthly hopes! just when the venturesome Florentine was counting on his reward and on further discoveries, the gallant French Sovereign was detained a captive at Madrid, by the Emperor Charles V, after the battle of Pavia, on 25th February, 1525. We then lose trace of the brave Florentine; some pretend that he entered the service of Henry,

VIII, of England; some, that in one of his sea voyages, he was eaten by savages, whilst others affirm he was hung at Puerto del Pico, as a pirate.

Ten years later, Francis I, bent on following up Verrazano's original ideas, confides his plans to a high spirited, young noble—Philippe de Brion-Chabot, a friend of his youth and then Admiral of France. The French Admiral found in a hardy St. Malo mariner, Jacques-Cartier, a fit agent for his design, "if indeed its suggestion is not due to the Breton Navigator. Cartier, then forty years of age, left France for Newfoundland, on the 20th April, 1534. After planting a cross at Gaspé, and ascending the St. Lawrence, up to Anticosti, he was compelled by the gathering autumnal storms, to return to France, carrying with him as a sample of the natural products of the New World, two Gaspé Indians, Taiguragny and Domagaya, whom by treachery he had brought in his vessels. The voyage, as Parkman observes, was but a reconnaissance.

In 1535, King Francis commissioned Jacques-Cartier a second time, and placed under his orders three vessels: the *Grande Hermine*, of not more than 120 tons—the *Petite Hermine*, of 60 tons, commanded by Marc Jolobert, and the *Emerillon*, of 40 tons, commanded by Guillaume Le Breton. "The ship, says Parkman, left St. Malo on the 19th May. Charles de la Pommeraye, Claude de Pontbriand and other gentlemen of note, enrolled themselves for the voyage." On the sixteenth of May, 1535, officers and sailors assembled in the Cathedral of St. Malo, where, after confession and hearing mass, they received the parting blessing of the bishop. Three days later, they set sail. The dingy walls of the rude old sea port and the white rocks that line the neighbouring shores of Brittany, faded from their sight and soon they were tossing in a furious tempest. But the scattered ships escaped the danger, and, reuniting at the straits of Belle Isle, steered westward along the coast of Labrador, till they reached a small bay opposite the Island of Anticosti, "which he named Isle of Assomption, on account of the *fête* day in the calendar; the three vessels then ascended the St. Lawrence, passed in safety the gloomy gorge of the Saguenay, with its towering cliffs and sullen depth of waters," and anchored near an island which from the wood growing on it—*coudriers*,—they called *Isle aux Coudres*, where the first mass said in Canada was celebrated. Passing the Isle aux Coudres and the lofty promontory of Cape Tourmente, they came to anchor in a quiet channel between the northern shore and the margin of a richly wooded island, where the trees were so thickly hung with grapes that Cartier named it, the Island of Bacchus. ¹

"Indians came swarming from the shores, paddled their birch canoes about the ships and clambered to the deck to gaze in bewilderment at the novel scene, and listen to the story of these travelled countrymen, marvellous in their ears, as a visit to another planet. Cartier received them kindly, listened to the long harangue of the great chief Donnacona, regaled him with bread

¹ Now the Island of Orleans.

and wine, and when relieved at length of his guests, set forth in a boat to explore the river above."

Let us follow the gifted word painter, *Frs. Parkman* describing the panorama which greeted Cartier on his first appearance at the foot of Cape Diamond. "A mighty promontory, rugged and bare, thrust its scarped front into the surging current. Here, clothed in the majesty of solitude, breathing the stern poetry of the wilderness, rose the cliffs now rich with heroic memories, where the fiery Count Frontenac cast defiance at his foes, where Wolfe, Montcalm and Montgomery fell. As yet, all was a nameless barbarism, and a cluster of wigwams held the site of the rock-built city of Quebec. Its name was Stadaconé, and it owned the sway of the royal Donnacona.¹

"Cartier set forth to visit this greasy potentate, ascended the river St. Charles, by him called the St. Croix,² landed, crossed the meadows, climbed the rocks, threaded the forest and emerged upon a squalid hamlet of bark cabins. When, their curiosity satisfied, he and his party were rowing for the ships, a friendly interruption met them at the mouth of the St. Charles. An old chief harangued them from the bank; men, boys and children screeched welcome from the meadow, and a troop of hilarious squaws danced knee-deep in the water. The gift of a few strings of beads completed their delight and redoubled their agility; and from the distance of a mile, their shrill songs of jubilation still reached the ears of the receding Frenchmen.

"The hamlet of Stadaconé, with its king, Donnacona, and its naked lords and princes, was not the Metropolis of this forest State, since a town far greater—so the Indians averred—stood by the brink of the river many days' journey above."

We shall not follow Cartier on his expedition to Hochelaga, with the *Emerillon*, having placed the *Grande* and the *Petite Hermine* within the mouth of the St. Charles, with the rest of his followers.

"On the bank of the St. Charles, their companions had built in their absence a fort of palissades, and the ships, hauled up by the little stream, lay moored before it. Here the self-exiled company were soon besieged by the rigor of the Canadian winter. The rocks, the shores, the pine-trees, the solid floor of the frozen river, all alike were blanketed in snow, beneath the keen cold rays of the dazzling sun. The drifts rose above the sides of their ships; masts, spars, cordage, were thick with glittering incrustations and sparkling rows of icicles; a frosty armour, four inches thick, encased the bulwarks. Yet in the bitterest weather, the neighboring Indians, "hardy," says the journal "as so many beasts," came daily to the fort wading, half naked, waist-deep through the snow. At length, their friendship began to abate; their visits

¹ On ground now covered by the suburbs of St. Roch and St. John.

² Charlevoix denies that the St. Croix and the St. Charles are the same Champlain, than whom no one was better qualified to form an opinion, distinctly affirms the identity of the two rivers. There seems no doubt on this point amongst modern writers.

grew less frequent, and during December, had wholly ceased, when an appalling calamity fell upon the French.

A malignant scurvy broke out among them. Man after man, went down before the hideous disease, till twenty-five were dead, and only three or four were left in health. The sound were too few to attend the sick, and the wretched sufferers lay in helpless despair, dreaming of the sun and the vines of France. The ground hard as flint, defied their feeble efforts, and unable to bury their dead, they hid them in the snow-drifts. Cartier appealed to the Saints;..... Then, he nailed against a tree an image of the Virgin, and on a Sunday summoned forth his woe-begone followers, who, haggard, reeling, bloated with their maladies, moved in procession to the spot, and kneeling in the snow, sang litanies and psalms of David. That day died Philippe Rougemont, of Amboise, aged twenty-two years.... There was fear that the Indians, learning their misery, might finish the work the scurvy had begun. None of them, therefore, was allowed to approach the fort; and when perchance a party of savages lingered within hearing, Cartier forced his invalid garrison to beat with sticks and stones against the walls, that their dangerous neighbors deluded by the clatter, might think them vigorously engaged in hard labor. These objects of their fear proved, however, the instruments of their salvation.

"Cartier, walking one day near the river, met an Indian, who, not long before, had been prostrate like many of his fellows with the scurvy, but who now, to all appearance, was in high health and spirits. What agency had wrought that marvellous recovery? According to the Indian, it was a certain evergreen, called by him *ameda* (a spruce,) of which a decoction of the leaves was sovereign against the disease. The experiment was tried. The sick men drank copiously of the healing draught—so copiously indeed that in six days they drank a tree as large as a French oak. Thus vigorously assailed, the distemper relaxed its hold, and health and hope began to revisit the hopeless company.

"When this winter of misery had worn away, when spring appeared, and the ships were thawed from their icy fetters, Cartier prepared to return. He had made notable discoveries, but these were as nothing to the tales of wonder that had reached his ear, of a land of gold and rubis, of a nation white like the French, of men who lived without food, and of others to whom Nature had granted but one leg. Should he stake his credit on these marvels? Far better that they who had recounted them to him should, with their own lips, recount them also to the king. To this end, he resolved that Donnacona and his chiefs should go with him to court. He lured them therefore to the fort and led them into an ambushade of sailors, who, seizing the astonished guests hurried them on board the ships. This treachery accomplished, the voyageurs proceeded to plant the emblem of christianity. The cross was raised, the fleur-de-lis being upon it, and spreading their sails, they steered for home. It was the sixteenth of July, 1536, when Cartier again cast anchor under the walls of St. Malo.

"A rigorous climate, a savage people, a fatal disease, a soil barren of gold, these were the allurements of New France. Nor were the times auspicious for a renewal of the enterprise. Charles the Fifth flushed with his African triumphs, challenged the most christian king to single combat. The war flamed forth with new fury, and ten years elapsed before a hollow truce varnished the hate of the royal rivals with a thin pretence of courtesy.

"Peace returned; but Francis, under the scourge of his favorite goddess, was sinking to his ignominious grave, and Chabot, patron of the former voyages was in disgrace. Meanwhile, the ominous adventure of New France had found a champion in the person of Jean François de la Roque, Sieur de Roberval, a nobleman of Picardy. Though a man of high account in his own province, his past honors paled before the splendor of the titles said to have been now conferred on him,—Lord of Norembega, Viceroy and Lieutenant-General in Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, New Foundland, Belle Isle Carpunt, Labrador, the Great Bay, and Baccalaos. To this windy gift of ink and parchment was added a solid grant from the royal treasury, with which five vessels were procured and equipped, and to Cartier was given the post of Captain General.

"With respect to Donnacona and his tribesmen, basely kidnapped at Stadaconé, excellent care had been taken of their souls. In due time they had been baptized, and soon reaped the benefit of the rite, since they all died within a year or two, to the great detriment, as it proved, of the expedition.

"On the twenty-third of May, 1541, Cartier again spread his canvas for New France. The Atlantic was safely passed, the fog-banks of Newfoundland, the island rocks clouded with screaming sea-fowl, the forests breathing piny odors from the shore. Again he passed in review the grand scenery of the St. Lawrence, and again cast anchor beneath the cliffs of Quebec. Canoes came out from shore filled with feathered savages inquiring for their kidnapped chiefs. "Donnacona," replied Cartier, "is dead;" but he added the politic falsehood that the others had married in France and lived in State, like great lords. The Indians pretended to be satisfied; but it was soon apparent that they looked askance on the perfidious strangers.

"Cartier pursued his course, sailed three leagues and a half up the St. Lawrence, and anchored again off the mouth of the river of Cap Rouge. It was late in August, and the leafy landscape sweltered in the sun. They landed, pulled up quartz crystals on the shore and thought them diamonds, climbed the steep promontory, drank at the spring near the top, looked abroad on the wooded slopes beyond the little river; waded through the tall grass of the meadow, found a quarry of slate, and gathered scales of a yellow mineral which glistened like gold, then took to their boats, crossed to the south shore of the St. Lawrence, and, languid with the heat, rested in the shade of forests laced with an entanglement of grape vines.

"Now their task began, and while some cleared off the woods and sowed turnip-seed, others cut a zigzag road up the height, and others built two forts, one at the summit, one at the shore below. The forts finished, the

Vicomte de Beaupré took command, while Cartier went with two boats to explore the rapids above Hochelaga. When at length, he returned, the autumn was far advanced; and with the gloom of a Canadian November, came distrust, foreboding, and home sickness. Roberval had not appeared; the Indians kept jealously aloof; the motley colony was sullen as the dull, raw air around it. There was disgust and ire at Charlesbourg-Royal, for so the place was called.

"Meanwhile, unexpected delays had detained the impatient Roberval; nor was it until the sixteenth of April, 1542, that, with three ships and two hundred colonists, he set sail from Rochelle. When on the eighth of June, he entered the harbor of St. John, he found seventeen fishing vessels lying there at anchor. Soon after, he descried three other sail rounding the entrance of the haven, and, with wrath and amazement, recognized the ships of Jacques-Cartier. That voyager had broken up his colony and abandoned New France. What motives had prompted a desertion little consonant with the resolute spirit of the man, it is impossible to say,—whether sickness within, or Indian enemies without, disgust with an enterprise whose unripened fruits had proved so hard and bitter, or discontent at finding himself reduced to a post of subordination in a country which he had discovered and where he had commanded. The Viceroy ordered him to return; but Cartier escaped with his vessels under cover of night, and made sail for France, carrying with him as trophies a few quartz diamonds from Cap Rouge, and grains of gleaming gold from the neighboring slate ledges. Thus, pitifully closed the active career of this notable explorer. His discoveries had gained for him a patent of nobility. He owned the seigniorial mansion of Limoilou, a rude structure of stone, still standing. Here, and in the neighboring town of St. Malo, where also he had a house, he seems to have lived for many years.

"Roberval held his course up the St. Lawrence, and dropped anchor before the heights of Cap Rouge. His company landed; there were bivouacs along the strand, a hubbub of pick and spade, axe, saw and hammer; and soon in the wilderness up rose a goodly structure, half barrack, half castle, with two towers, two spacious halls, a kitchen, chambers, store-rooms, workshops, cellars, garrets, a well, an oven and two water-mills. It stood on that bold acclivity where Cartier had before entrenched himself, the St. Lawrence in front, and on the right, the river of Cap Rouge. Here all the colony housed under the same roof, like one of the experimental communities of recent days,—officers, soldiers, nobles, artisans, laborers, and convicts, with the women and children, in whom lay the future of New France."

The site on which Cartier and Roberval located their ephemeral colony, at Cap Rouge, in 1541-2, close on three centuries later, viz., in 1820, was selected by Henry Atkinson, Esq., of Quebec, for the erection of his picturesque villa. At present, it is the property of the Cap Rouge Pier and Wharf Company, and bears the appropriate name of Redcliffe, (Cap Rouge.)

A full description of it appears at page 97 of *Maple Leaves* for 1865.

"Experience and forecast had alike been wanting. There were store-

houses, but no stores; mills, but no grist; an ample oven, and a woeful dearth of bread. It was only when two of the ships had sailed for France that they took account of their provision and discovered its lamentable short coming. Winter and famine followed. They bought fish from the Indians, dug roots and boiled them in whale oil. Disease broke out, and, before spring, killed one third of the colony. The rest would soon have quarrelled, mutinied, and otherwise aggravated their inevitable woes, but disorder was dangerous under the iron rule of the inexorable Roberval. Michel Gaillon was detected in a petty theft, and forthwith hanged. Jean de Nantes, for a more venial offence was kept in irons. The quarrels of men, the scolding of women, were alike requited at the whipping post, "by which means," quaintly says the narrative, "they lived in peace." Thevet, while calling himself the intimate friend of the Viceroy, gives to his story a darker coloring. Forced to unceasing labor, and chafed by arbitrary rules, some of the soldiers fell under his displeasure, and six of them, formerly his favorites, were hanged in one day. Others were banished to an island, and there held in fetters; while for various light offences, several, both men and women, were shot. Even the Indians were moved to pity, and wept at the sight of their woes.

"And here, midway, our guide deserts us; the ancient narrative is broken, and the latter part is lost, leaving us to divine as best we may, the future of the ill-starved colony. That it did not long survive is certain. It is said that the King, in great need of Roberval, sent Cartier to bring him home. ¹ It is said, too, that in after years, the Viceroy essayed to repossess himself of his transatlantic domain and lost his life in his attempt. Thevet, on the other hand, with ample means of learning the truth, affirms that Roberval was slain at night, near the church of the Innocents, in the heart of Paris." ²

The historian Parkman seems to have borrowed his darkest tints to paint the failure of the early settlement of the French at Cap Rouge, in the neighborhood of our city. Canadian annals from 1542 to 1608 offer a perfect blank, no Europeans having remained behind.

¹ Lescarbot (1693), I, 416.

² LeClerc. *Etablissement de la Foy*, I, 14.

ERRATA.

Page 46, twenty-fourth line, instead of " 1763 " read : " 1765 "

Page 128, twenty-first line, instead of " the latter part of it " read :
" the year 1715 was. "

Page 217, eighteenth line, instead of " 6 adjutants " read : " 1 adjutant. "

Page 305, twenty-first line, instead of " Much virtuous resolves, " read : " Many virtuous resolves. "

Page 387, thirtieth line, instead of " *Maple Leaves* 1815 " read :
" *Maple Leaves* 1865. "

Page 411, ninth line, instead of " It will soon disappear for ever, as appears by the following " read : " It will soon disappear for ever. The Jesuit College was taken possession of in 1765, as appear by the following. "

Page 422, thirty-third line, instead of " French Canadians, 3974 " read : " French Canadians, 40,890, English 3974. "

Page 449, twelfth line, instead of " 1848 " read : " 1847. "

Page 451, twenty-ninth line, instead of " Important documents containing, " read : " Important documents concerning. "

CHAPTER I.

1608—1635.

THE ERA OF CHAMPLAIN.

FOUNDATION OF QUEBEC, 1608.—CONSTRUCTION OF THE "HABITATION" AND WHAREHOUSES IN THE LOWER-TOWN.—CONSPIRACY, AND INDIAN WARS. —ARRIVAL OF THE RECOLLET FATHERS, 1615; OF MADAME DE CHAMPLAIN, 1620; OF THE JESUITS, 1625.—CAPTURE OF QUEBEC BY THE ENGLISH, 1629.—ITS RETURN TO FRANCE, 1632.—DEATH OF CHAMPLAIN, 1635.

On the 3rd of July, 1608, a group of French artificers, in number twenty-eight,—carpenters, masons, traders and others,—might have been seen, on a well-wooded point jutting out in the St. Lawrence, at the very site,—t'is said,—where eighty-two years after, in 1690, was built in the lower-town, to commemorate a French victory, the church of *Notre-Dame-de-la-Victoire*. They seemed all intent, in carrying out the orders of an energetic leader: the carpenters hewing down and squaring the stately timber over head,—some majestic oaks and walnut trees: the artificers and masons actively engaged in sinking a trench and laying within, the

foundation of a dwelling for men, proof against frost,—in fact, a fort safe against savage treachery. A warehouse was also being built ¹ to store provisions, peltries and other articles of traffic. War and commerce seemed linked hand in hand.

A few miles north east of this bustling scene, rested the vine-clad shores of a lovely Island,—*Isle de Bacchus*,—since known as Island of Orleans. To the north, green beaches and woody ridges, Beauport and its foaming cataract. To the east, the lofty pine-crowned banks, since honored with the name of a Levis: in rear, the frowning cliffs of Cape Diamond. On the western side of this point, there was a secluded nook, under the overhanging cape, for two centuries a much used harbour for river craft and well remembered by mariners,—the *Cul-de-Sac*. A spacious market place and extensive wharves now cover the site. On this identical 3rd of July, at this spot might have been noticed a modest bark, riding at anchor, with the *Fleur-de-Lis*, of France, streaming at its peak, whilst on shore, on an exalted point, was visible another white flag—an emblem of sovereignty,—close by, a humble cross. Possibly, one might have also observed stalking over the strand in full view of his toiling men, a sturdy

¹ “The pencil of Champlain. always regardless of proportion and perspective, has preserved the semblance of the “habitation.” A strong wooden wall surmounted by a gallery loop-holed for musketry, enclosed three buildings, containing quarters for himself and his men, together with a court-yard, from one side of which rose a tall dove-cot, like a belfry. A moat surrounded the whole, and two or three small cannons were planted on salient platforms towards the river. There was a large magazine near at hand, and part of the adjacent ground was laid out as a garden.” (Parkman's *Pioneers of France*, P. 303.)

figure. Reader, let us greet the immortal founder of Quebec, Samuel de Champlain, a great captain—a successful discoverer—a noted geographer and more than all that, a God-fearing, christian gentleman.

Little more than one year previous, on the 13th May, 1607, Captain Christopher Newport had laid the foundation of Jamestown, on the shores of the Potomac, in Virginia, calling it after his sovereign. As Chalmers observes, it was “feeble in numbers and enterprize—was planted in discord and grew up in misery.” How wonderfully it has since thrived, history is there to attest.

One of Champlain’s first operations, was clearing the land in the neighborhood of the “habitation,” for gardens. These (lower-town) gardens as shewn on an old chart published in 1613, extended on one side towards Mountain street and westerly, towards the cape; there was a third garden, a small one, on the river side. Champlain seems to have doted on these gardens: a few years later on, we will find him planting roses there.

The land next cleared in Quebec, is supposed to have been in the upper-town, where now, the English Cathedral and the *Place d’Armes* or Ring appear.

In the midst of his enterprise, the great Captain was startled one fine day, with the revelations of one of his pilots—Captain Testu,—who took him apart in the woods and confided to him what he had just learned from one of Champlain’s followers—Antoine Natel.¹ The leader of the atrocious plot was a Norman

¹ “Having,” said Parkman, “heard the pilot’s story, Champlain remained in the woods, desired his informant to find Antoine Natel,

locksmith, by name Jean Duval. Champlain was to be assassinated—either shot or strangled—the “habitation” and stores to be plundered, and the conspirators to escape to Spain in some of the foreign vessels trading at Tadoussac. Courage and tact were requisite to overpower and master these desperate characters. This was done by an ingenious stratagem. There being no lock-up to keep them in safety at Quebec, they were dispatched to Pontgravé, at Tadoussac, who shortly after returned to Quebec with the leader. A council of war condemned Jean Duval : his body swung from a gibbet—his head was exposed on a pike, whilst his three associates were sent to France, tried and sent to the galleys : the pretext of the conspiracy had been “hard work and poor fare.”

Pontgravé having in the fall of 1608, returned to France with the peltries procured during the season,

and bring him to the spot. Natel soon appeared, trembling with excitement and fear, and a close examination left no doubt of the truth of the statement. A shallop, built by Pontgravé, at Tadoussac, had lately arrived, and orders were soon given that it should anchor before the buildings. On board was a young man in whom confidence could be placed. Champlain sent him two bottles of wine, with a direction to tell the four ringleaders that they had been given him by his Basque friends at Tadoussac, and to invite them to share the good cheer. They came on board in the evening and were instantly seized and secured. “*Voilà donc mes galants bien estonnéz*,” writes Champlain.

It was ten o'clock, and most of the men on shore were asleep. They were wakened suddenly, and told of the discovery of the plot and the arrest of the ringleaders. Pardon was then promised them, and they were dismissed again to their beds greatly relieved, for they had lived in trepidation, each fearing the other. Duval's body swinging from a gibbet, gave wholesome warning to those he had seduced ; and his head was displayed on a pike, from the highest roof of the buildings, food for birds, and a lesson to sedition.” (*Pioneers of France*, P. 304.)

Lescarbot, (1612,) 623 ; Purchas, IV. 1642.

Champlain and his small band were left behind to battle with the rigors of their first Canadian winter. By April following, out of twenty-eight persons, eight only had survived the *mal de terre* or scurvy. Some had also, says Lescarbot, succumbed to dysentery brought on by eating too much dried eel. The eel fishing, so frequently alluded to, in the early days of the colony, was generally carried on from 15th September to 15th October; it seems to have been a most important matter and both the settlers and the Indians looked on it, as the chief means of sustenance each fall, previous to the deer and beaver hunt; there were large eel fisheries on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, below St. Joachim, and the peasantry find in it a remunerative employment to this day.

"One would gladly," says Parkman, ¹ "know how the founders of Quebec spent the long hours of their first winter; but on this point the only man among them, perhaps, who could write, has not thought it necessary to enlarge. He himself beguiled his leisure with trapping foxes, or hanging a dead dog from a tree and watching the hungry martens in their efforts to reach it. Towards the close of winter, all found abundant employment in nursing themselves or their neighbors, for the inevitable scurvy broke out with virulence.....

"This wintry purgatory wore away; the icy stalactites that hung from the cliffs fell crashing to the earth; the clamor of the wild geese was heard; the bluebirds appeared in the naked woods; the

¹ Parkman's *Pioneers of New France*, P. 307.

water-willows were covered with their soft caterpillar-like blossoms; the twigs of the swamp-maple were flushed with ruddy bloom; the ash hung out its black-tufted flowers; the shad-bush seemed a wreath of snow; the white stars of the bloodroot gleamed among dank, fallen leaves; and in the young grass of the wet meadows, the marsh-marygolds shone like spots of gold.

“ Great was the joy of Champlain when he saw a sail-boat rounding the Point of Orleans, betokening that the spring had brought with it the longed-for succors. A son-in-law of Pontgravé, named Marais, was on board, and he reported that Pontgravé was then at Tadoussac, where he had lately arrived. Thither Champlain hastened, to take counsel with his comrade. His constitution or his courage had defied the scurvy. They met, and it was determined betwixt them, that, while Pontgravé remained in charge of Quebec, Champlain should enter at once on his long-meditated explorations, by which, like La Salle, seventy years later, he had good hope of finding a way to China.

“ But there was a lion in the path. The Indian tribes, war-hawks of the wilderness, to whom peace was unknown, infested with their scalping parties the streams and pathways of the forest, increasing tenfold its inseparable risks. That to all these hazards Champlain was more than indifferent, his after-career bears abundant witness; yet now an expedient offered itself so consonant with his instincts that he was fain to accept it. Might he not anticipate surprises, join a war-party and fight his way to discovery?

" During the last autumn, a young chief from the banks of the then unknown Ottawa had been at Quebec; and, amazed at what he saw, he had begged Champlain to join him in the spring against his enemies. These enemies were a formidable race of savages, the Iroquois, or Five Confederate Nations, dwelling in fortified villages within limits now embraced by the State of New York, to whom was afterwards given the fanciful name of "ROMANS OF THE NEW WORLD," and who even then were a terror to all the surrounding forests."

Champlain thus describes his first proceedings, which will be read with interest by the inhabitants at the present day. "I reached Quebec on the 3rd July, where I sought out a proper place for our dwelling; but I could not find one better adapted for it than the promontory, or point of Quebec which was covered with walnuts and vines. As soon as possible, I set to work some of our laborers to level them, in order to build our habitation.....The first thing which we did was to build a store house to secure our provisions under shelter, which was quickly done.....Near this spot is an agreeable river, where formerly wintered Jacques Cartier." A temporary barrack for the men and officers was subsequently erected on the higher part of the position, near which the Castle of St. Lewis now stands. It must be remembered that at the time of the landing of Champlain, the tide rose usually to the base of the rock, or *côte*; and that the first buildings were of necessity on the high grounds. Afterwards, and during the time of Champlain, a space was redeemed from the water and elevated above the inundation of the tide;

on which store houses, and also a battery level with the water was erected, having a passage of steps between it and the fort, on the site of the present Mountain street, which was first used in 1623.

“ Champlain had now, humble as they were, successfully laid the foundations of the first French colony in North America.....

“ The summer was passed in finishing the necessary buildings, when clearances were made around them, and the ground prepared for sowing wheat and rye: which was accomplished by the 15th October. Hoar frosts commenced about the 3rd October, and on the 15th, the trees had shed their leafy honors. The first snow fell on the 18th November, but disappeared after two days. Champlain describes the snow as lying on the ground from December until near the end of April, so that the favorite theory of those who maintain the progressive improvement of the climate, as lands are cleared in new countries, is not born out by the evidence of Canada. From several facts it might be shown that the wintry climate was not more inhospitable in the early days of Jacques Cartier and Champlain than in the present. The winter of 1611 and 1612 was extremely mild and the river was not frozen before Quebec.”¹

The Indians huddled round the settlement seem to have much degenerated from the days of Jacques Cartier. Champlain was shocked with their filth and gluttony. On one occasion hunger had driven them to devour ravenously most abominable carion

¹ Hawkin's *New Picture of Québec*, P. 97-100.

close to the habitation; the reeking carcase of a sow and of a dog, in the last stage of putrefaction was torn to pieces and gulped down, in spite of the stench, by these disgusting savages. "From the silence of Champlain respecting the hamlet or town of Stadacona,¹ which had been visited by Cartier so often in 1535, it would seem probable that it had dwindled owing to the migratory predilections of the Indians, to a place of no moment. He certainly mentions a number of Indians who were "*cabannéz*" hutted near his settlement; but the ancient name of Stadacona never once occurs. It will be recollected that Cartier spoke of the houses of the natives as being amply provided with food against the winter. From the evidence of Champlain, the Indians of the vicinity appear to have degenerated in this particular. They are represented as having experienced the greatest extremities for want of food during the winter of 1608, and some who *float*ed over from the Point Lévis side of the river (on *sheet ice* in February, 1609), were in such a state of wretchedness as hardly to be able to drag their limbs to the upper part of the settlement. They were relieved and treated with the greatest kindness by the French. Their unappeased hunger, however, induced them to devour a dead dog left on the snow by Champlain for two months past as a bait to foxes.

"The ice having disappeared in the spring of 1609,

¹ Stadacona, according to the historian Ferland, seems to have stood on the northern side of the ridge on which Quebec has since been built,—from Hope Gate towards Abraham's Hill. This Indian village in 1535 must have been on the south side of the St. Charles, as Donacona and his followers had to cross this stream to visit Jacques Cartier's winter quarters, on the banks of the river Lairet—opposite to the Marine Hospital.

so early as the 8th April, Champlain was enabled to leave the infant settlement of Quebec and to ascend the river on the 18th for the purpose of further exploring the country. He resolved to penetrate into the interior; and his mingled emotions of delight and astonishment may easily be conceived as he proceeded to examine the magnificent country of which he had taken possession.

“ During the summer, he discovered the beautiful lake which now bears his name; and having returned to Quebec in the autumn, he sailed for France in September 1609, leaving the settlement under the command of Captain Pierre Chauvin, an officer of a great merit.

“ Champlain was well received on his arrival by Henri IV, who invited him to an interview at Fontainebleau, and received from him an exact account of all that had been done in New France, with a statement of the advantages to be expected from the new establishment on the St. Lawrence, —at which recital the King expressed great satisfaction. De Monts, however, by whose means the settlement of Quebec had been formed, could not obtain a renewal of his privilege, which had expired; notwithstanding which, he was once more enabled by the assistance of the company of merchants to fit out two vessels in the spring of 1610, under the command of Champlain and Pontgravé. The latter was instructed to continue the fur trade with the Indians, at Tadoussac, whilst Champlain having with him a reinforcement of artisans and laborers was to proceed to Quebec.” ¹ He arrived on the 26th

¹ (Hawkins *Picture of Quebec*. P. 107.)

May at Tadoussac, and then proceeded to Quebec, where he found his colonists in good health and excellent spirits. The early history of the city is more particularly that of the remarkable man who founded it; up to 1615, and in fact until his death, his memoirs are the chief sources of information.

Champlain having decided to favor the cause of the Algonquins and Hurons, his immediate neighbors, against their distant but redoubtable foes, the Iroquois, undertook several expeditions against the latter, and seems to have spent much of his time in aiding his allies and in visiting, yearly, France to secure privileges for his partners in the fur trade and resources for his growing colony.

We are however inclined to believe, that his views on war were not sound, though many considerations can be urged in favor of the course he adopted; his policy, in fighting the Iroquois at first supported by the Dutch and afterwards by the English colonists of New York, "laid the foundation of that predatory and cruel warfare which subsisted with little intermission between his countrymen and the Five Nations, notwithstanding the conciliatory efforts of the Jesuits, and was the remote though innocent cause of the animosity afterwards engendered between the Provincialists and the French, owing to the excesses of the Indians in the interest of the latter, and of a war which terminated with the subjugation of Canada by the British arms in 1760."¹

War and the spirit of discovery brought him in the country of the Iroquois in 1609, 1611, 1615. This furnished him an occasion of witnessing some

¹ (Hawkins *Picture of Qu.-bec*)

atrocious scenes of tortures, on captives by his Indian allies and which he was powerless to restrain.

On the 30th December, 1610, Champlain, through the influence of De Monts, a calvinist, wedded in Paris, a lovely and youthful bride, Hélène Boullé, whose father was private secretary to the King's household. The fair Hélène had not yet attained her twelfth year; her family had been brought up in the reformed faith; ¹ they were calvinists, so were their friends. Whether Champlain had originally been a calvinist, ² the learned abbé Faillon seems to leave undecided. De Monts, his protector, was a calvinist, so were his associates, Pierre Chauvin ³ and Poutrincourt. Marc Lescarbot held calvinistic tendencies, and some of the twenty-eight followers who helped Champlain to found Québec, were of *mixed* faith. Though himself, a fervent Roman Catholic, we find that the company of traders, Champlain founded in France in 1613, were calvinists. ⁴ Madame de Champlain changed her faith.

The abbé Faillon notices, in one of Champlain's most important domestic acts, a mixture of self-interest. Thus, we find him stipulating in his marriage contract with his young bride, on the 27th December, 1610, that he is to receive before the marriage 6,000 livres and on the day previous to the marriage viz., on the 29th ⁵ December,

¹ *Histoire de la Colonie française en Canada* : Vol. I, P. 123.

² " " " " " " I, P. 551.

³ " " " " " " I, P. 71-75.

Abbé Faillon remarks that Champlain bore the name of Samuel, a very common one amongst Calvinists at that time—but very uncommon amongst Roman Catholics.

⁴ *Histoire de la Colonie française en Canada*, Vol. I, P. 135.

⁵ " " " " " " I, P. 123.

1610, he actually received 4,500 livres, which enabled him to fit out vessels for his return to Quebec. The girlish bride whom he left two years previous in France, turned out a devoted wife. Of her arrival in Canada in 1620, and the public rejoicings it gave rise to, we will take care to apprise the reader in due time.

Champlain landed at Quebec in May 1611, after a most stormy passage, and he left soon after for the west, reaching the spot where Mr. de Maisonneuve founded Montreal in 1642; early in June, he cleared some land which he called *Place Royale*, and which was subsequently known as *Pointe-Callière*—naming the picturesque island which faces Montreal—*Isle Sainte Hélène*, after his youthful bride. Of the improvements at the Quebec settlement, during the summer of 1611, we have no record.

Champlain, before winter set in, sailed for France, where he was detained nearly two years by the affairs of the company. De Monts, on account of his losses, having retired from the position he held, Champlain deemed it indispensably necessary for the colony and for the trading company with which it might be connected, to possess, as chief, some person in France, who had influence and rank at Court; therefore, on the retirement of De Monts, the Count de Soissons was applied to, and afterwards the Prince Henri de Condé, Charles de Bourbon. Count de Soissons, undertook to become the head of the company of New France, and to sustain the establishment at Quebec, chiefly under the inspiration of religious motives. He nominated Champlain his lieutenant and agent, and died a few weeks after

his appointment. Condé being nominated Viceroy of New France, appointed Champlain as his lieutenant, 15th October, 1612; hence, in lists of official functionaries, this date is frequently put down as that on which the rule of Governors commenced; Champlain being set down as the first Governor and certain negotiations were entered in with the object of effecting a compromise with the merchants and traders of Dieppe, St. Malo, Rochelle and Rouen. In the end, some kind of arrangement was made securing for the wants of the colony, at Quebec, a certain portion of the results of the fur traffic to be paid by traders." ¹

Early in May 1613, Champlain having returned to Quebec, found the small colony free from suffering or disease, we next follow his adventurous course up the Ottawa in a canoe,—then find him sojourning, at the hospitable wig-wam of a friendly chief, residing on *Ile-aux-Allumettes*, previous to exploring the country in quest of the much coveted passage to China; but the indefatigable discoverer was doomed to disappointment and returned to Quebec, towards the latter part of August from whence he sailed for France, to watch over the interests of the company and his incipient settlement so much dependant on the course of events in the native country. The mercantile affairs of the colony, and the negotiations into which Champlain entered for the purpose of providing for the religious wants of his own people, detained him in France until the spring of 1615. Innumerable obstacles hindered his projects,

¹ Miles's *History of Canada*, P. 44.

but at length he had the satisfaction of procuring the King's sanction and that of the Viceroy, to the formation of a trading society, consisting of merchants of St. Malo and Rouen. This was chartered for eleven years. In conjunction with the dispositions in behalf of the fur trafic, it was bound to take out missionnaires to the heathen savages, and to assist in their maintenance. Champlain, as its agent, and as local Governor or Lieutenant of the Viceroy, was thus at last in a position to carry out one of his most cherished designs, namely, to introduce among the benighted savages of Canada some regular means of converting them to christianity. "It was, he used to say, a more glorious thing to secure the salvation of one soul than to conquer an empire" ¹

The arrival of the Recollet Fathers, at Quebec, in 1615, was indeed an important event. Fathers Denis Jamay, Jean Dolbeau and Joseph LeCaron, members of the order of St. Francis, with brother Pacifique Duplessis, also, of that order, having sailed from Honfleur, on the 24th April 1615, in the *St. Etienne*, commanded by Pontgravé, arrived at Tadoussac, on the 25th May 1615. A few days later, they reached Quebec. Father Dolbeau was charged with the construction of a chapel in the lower-town, where they were located. One month later, the devoted missionary, had the satisfaction of celebrating the first mass, in this little chapel and intoning a *Te Deum*, says LeClercq, amidst salvos of artillery and the acclamations of joy of the

¹ Miles's *History of Canada*, P. 45.

attendants. In the fall of 1619, they laid the foundations of their monastery on the banks of the St. Charles, at the spot, where the General Hospital now stands.

The third and most celebrated expedition Champlain undertook against the Iroquois, was anything but successful owing to the mode of attack of the Hurons, his allies.

It ended in December 1615; its details, however, pertain to the general history of the colony and not to that of Quebec in particular. But Champlain had to winter amongst the Hurons and returned to Quebec, on the 11th July 1616, to the great joy of the residents, who had imagined from his long absence that their loved chief was dead. On the 20th of the same month, he returned to France, accompanied by Fathers Jamay and LeCaron, to make a strenuous appeal to the company he represented, for supplies and colonists.

Amongst other things urged, was the throwing open to all Frenchmen, the peltry trade with the savages, the exclusion of Huguenots, the enlargement of religious mission, the civilization of the Indian tribes. "In adopting these important views, says Miles, we behold Champlain striving to emerge from the position of a mere commercial company's factor, and assuming the proper functions of a Governor, in behalf of the infant colony which he had founded. To give them effect, it was necessary to visit France and enlist the active sympathies of the court and of persons whose zeal and wealth might accomplish the desired results..... About sixty men, constituting the whole population of Quebec, remained to

pass the winter of 1616, somewhat straightened in regard to supplies for their use, during Champlain's absence."

After a long and dangerous passage back, Champlain returned to the settlement in 1617, with Louis Hebert, originally an apothecary of Paris, but who, under Poutrincourt, had acquired experience in cultivating the soil, at Port Royal; Hebert, whose posterity is so numerous to this day, may be justly styled the "First Emigrant to Canada." "Hebert immediately set to work to clear land in the upper-town," says Ferland, where the French Cathedral and the Seminary were afterwards erected, together with the land extending from Ste. Famille street to the Hôtel-Dieu convent. He also built a house and a mill at that point, in the upper-town, where St. Joseph street receives St. François¹ and St. Flavien streets. However, the abbés Laverdière and Casgrain, in their annotations of Champlain's works, on reference to old deeds and plans, think that Hebert's house was built on, or close to, the site where the archbishop's palace has since been erected.² The "First Emigrant" died in January, 1627, from the effects of a fall, much and deservedly regretted by a large circle of friends.

The winters of 1617 and 1618 were anything but cheering; the provisions in 1616-17 ran, short and the inhabitants resorted to hunting. An old enemy, scurvy, also made its appearance.

¹ St. Joseph and St. François streets, are now called respectively, Garneau and Ferland streets.

² *Notes sur les Registres de Notre-Dame de Québec*—Ferland.
Vide Champlain's Works, III Volume, P. 4.

Our annals from the year 1616 to 1619 are very scanty. Narrowly did the settlement escape complete annihilation. A dangerous conspiracy had been hatched by the Montagnais Indians, allies of the French; one of whom, Laforière, fortunately revealed the particulars to a missionary Father, then in their midst, Father Pacifique DuPlessis, who warned the French, pent up in their weak wooden fort. The barbarians had actually mustered at Three Rivers to the number of eight hundred, resolved to destroy the French. Beauchêne, who, at Quebec, replaced Champlain, during the latter's absence in France, being commander, was called on to punish the Indians for treachery; there was also to be avenged, the death of two Frenchmen, recently murdered near the Island of Orleans; clemency, or rather prudence, prevailed. It was thought preferable to wait for the return of Champlain.

The Indians having in the meantime, given hostages. On the 23rd August, 1619, the colony lost a useful and devoted member by the demise of Father Pacifique DuPlessis.

Some occurrences of moment marked the year 1620. Champlain, after spending two years in France, having realised all that he possessed there, induced some of his relatives to accompany him, and brought out Madame de Champlain, his wife, then aged twenty-two. The vessel, after a tedious passage of two months duration, reached near Tadoussac on the 7th July; on the 8th, she was boarded by a small boat carrying Eustache Boullé, Madame de Champlain's brother, who had then been a resident of Canada for two years and a half. Great was the

joy at the meeting of brother and sister ; greater still, that of the inhabitants of Quebec, on the landing of their respected Governor, accompanied by his amiable and beautiful lady. The party hurried to the rude little lower-town chapel, where a solemn *Te Deum* was chaunted, which furnished Father Jamay occasion to exhort his hearers " to obey God,—the King and his representative in Canada ; " the Royal commission to Champlain, was then publicly read, and officers of justice appointed ¹ Thus Champlain took possession of his government in the name of the Duke of Montmorency, whose Lieutenant-General he had been appointed.

On visiting the " habitation " Champlain was shocked to notice its ruinous condition ; the roof was accessible to both wind and rain ; the warehouse threatened to fall ; rubbish choked up every court. What was to be done ? The artificers, previously busy in erecting Hebert's dwelling and a convent for the Recollets, set to work with a will, to repair Champlain's quarters, and shortly after the youthful *Chatelaine* and her three waiting-maids were duly installed. One of Madame de Champlain's favorite occupations was ministering to the spiritual and the temporal welfare of the Indian children who lived in the vicinity. Soon, she began to appear in their simple and grateful eyes, a species of superior being ; they felt inclined to worship her. History recalls the charms of her person, her elegance and kindliness of manner. The Governor's lady wore in her daily

¹ Louis Hebert, the apothecary and agriculturist, was named *Procureur du Roi* ; Gilbert Courseron, *Lieutenant du Prevost* ; one Nicholas, *Greffier de la Jurisdiction de Québec*. (Faillon)—Vol. I, P. 178.)

rambles amongst the wig-wams, an article of feminine attire not unusual in those days; a small mirror hung to her girdle. Nothing similar had yet reached Quebec. The Indians took particular pleasure in *seeing* their swarthy faces in the magical glass. It appealed irresistibly to their simple natures. "A beauteous being who loved them so much as to carry their images reflected close to her heart," must be more than human; these rapturous feeling made all hearken attentively to her teachings: blessings attended her footsteps. The graceful figure of the first Lady of Canada, more than two centuries ago, gliding noiselessly along the murmuring waters of the wild St. Lawrence, showering everywhere smiles and kindness—a helpmate to her noble Lord,—a pattern of purity and refinement;—here indeed is a vision of female loveliness for a poet to immortalise. Add civilization: replace the rude savage by the civilized white man of the 19th century, and you can still see this spectacle on the shores of the noble river." ¹

Whilst the French were founding trading posts at Quebec and at Tadoussac, the English were also meditating settlements in the New World. On the 6th September, 1620, the "Pilgrim Fathers," flying from religious persecution, left Plymouth, England, in the "May Flower," and landed, one hundred and two in number, at Patuxet. A few days later, on Christmas day, 1620, these austere puritans, panting for religious freedom, founded a city on a site cleared

¹ Few will fail to recognise here, a delicate *rapprochement* and graceful compliment to the first Lady of Canada, the fascinating Countess of Dufferin. (*Publishers note.*)

by the Indians. After a winter of suffering, they were, we are told, in March following, greeted by an Indian Chief, named Samoset, uttering in broken English the words: "Welcome, Yingeess; welcome Yingeess;" for English. Thus, according to some, originated the term "YANKEE."¹

In the summer of 1622, the benevolent Madame de Champlain realised what living at Quebec, really meant for Europeans. The fierce Iroquois landed in thirty canoes close to the settlement; a large band of these ferocious warriors hovered about Quebec. The remembrance of the fatal effects of fire arms alone deterred them from attacking the French. Champlain and most of his men being

¹ To the year 1621, are traced the first registers of baptisms, marriages and deaths of the Roman Catholic Cathedral at Quebec; possibly, such registers were kept anteriorly to this, but the conflagration of the church in 1640, having caused their destruction, they were, so far as was practicable, restored from memory and from the traditions existing in the families.

The first entry, is that of the marriage of Guillaume Couillard with Guillemette Hébert. Two and a half months previously, the 12th May, 1621, was celebrated at Plymouth, N. E., the marriage of Edward Winslow and Susannah White, the first marriage which took place in New England.

The list of the christenings begins in October, 1621, by that of Eustache Martin, son of Abraham Martin *dit L'Ecosais*, pilot of the river St. Lawrence,—and of Marie Langlois. Abraham Martin has left, by his daughters, a numerous progeny. The old pilot, frequently named in the journal of the superior of the Jesuits, under the appellation of *Maître Abraham*, has bequeathed his name to the famous plains, which in 1759 decided the destiny of New France..... Charles Amador Martin, the only son of Abraham, who survived him, had for god-father the celebrated Charles Amador de la Tour, who was at Quebec in 1640. Charles Amador Martin distinguished by his good conduct and talent for music, was the second Canadian who took orders as priest; he became a member of the Seminary of foreign Missions, at Quebec, and a canon of the Cathedral. FERLAND, Vol. I, P. 202.

absent, women and children, all shut themselves up in the Fort. The Recollet convent on the banks of the St. Charles, was assailed; the Friars fortified themselves.

"Whilst," says Parkman, "some prayed in the chapel, the rest, with their Indians, manned the walls. The Iroquois respected their redoubts and demi-lunes, and withdrew, after burning the Huron prisoners."

The year 1624, was endeared to the faithful of Quebec, by the celebration of a religious ceremony, numerously attended by the White and the Redskins; St. Joseph was selected as the first patron of New France.

The building of Fort St. Louis, in the upper-town, was pushed on as very indispensable, in the daily recurrence of Indian assaults.

The "habitation" in the lower-town, though temporarily repaired was in a sad plight. It was decided to pull it down, with the exception of the warehouse, and rebuild one, on a much grander scale. This was in May 1624; a stone with an inscription was deposited in the foundation to commemorate the event. On this stone, were inscribed the arms of the King, as well as those of the Viceroy, with the date; the name of Champlain was added, as Lieutenant of the Duke of Montmorency; this stone was discovered some years back and perished in a conflagration in 1854.

It was a sorry day for the settlement, when the inhabitants, on the 15th August 1624, saw the white sails of Champlain's vessel disappear behind Point-Levis, carrying back, alas for ever! to the shores of

her beloved France, the saintlike Madame de Champlain, sighing for the mystic life of the cloister and tired out by the incessant alarms, Indian ferocity spread round the Fort during the frequent absence of her husband and her favorite brother. The high born dame, accustomed to the amenities and luxuries of Parisian life, must have, indeed, found the Canadian wilderness at times, heavy to endure. She died at Meaux, in 1654—an Ursuline nun.

At his departure, Champlain appointed as Commander, Emery de Caën, who was also chief factor for the "Company of Montmorency;" the white population of Quebec was then composed of 51 souls—men—women and children.

The *Recollets* became more and more convinced that other missions ought to be founded in such a vast country as New France; the six Friars that the company had agreed to support were totally insufficient for spreading effectually the word of God, amidst the countless tribes of aborigines. It was then resolved that the Jesuits, in France, should be invited to join in this good work; Father Irénée Piat and Brother F. Sagard, accompanied Champlain to France with this object. Henri de Levi, Duke of Ventadour, who had purchased the Vice-Royalty of Canada, an ecclesiastic himself, having influence at Court, compelled the company to further his plans and eventually supplied means to send out in the ships Guillaume de Caën was conducting to Quebec in 1625, Fathers Charles Lalemant, Jean de Brébœuf, Ennemond Massé and two others, with a *Recollet*, Joseph de la Roche-Daillon. They at first found shelter under the hospital roof of the Franciscan Friars, and

soon after, built for themselves a suitable residence, on the north side of the St. Charles, at the mouth of the river Lairet—the spot was called *Notre-Dame-des-Anges*.

The winter of 1627–8 had been one of want, suffering and gloom. Relief would no doubt arrive for the disheartened Quebecers with the return of the ships from France, in the spring. De Caën's associates instead of tilling the soil, as they were bound to do, had not even cleared, two acres the surest way to secure the colony from the annual famines which assailed it.

July and its tropical heats hung over the Fort; still, there was no sign of the white-pennoned barks, round the Island of Orleans; the supplies were run out.

Champlain equal to the emergency, resolved on sending down a vessel to meet the ships, attracted each spring to Gaspé, by the cod fishery; his object being to procure food and also to send back to France, the useless mouths. But another trouble sprung up. No craft could be found for the errand. All had wintered at Tadoussac, under De Caën's directions. The Company's stores at Quebec, contained neither tar,—nor oakum,—nor cordage,—nor canvass. How was the difficulty to be bridged over?

Since the early days of the settlement, cattle had been fed on the vast natural meadows at the base of Cape Tourmente, (at St. Joachim) Champlain, therefore, sent word to slaughter an ox for its meat, chiefly for its tallow. Old rope was gathered—converted into oakum—men dispatched to the woods in

quest of the gum of the pine, and a boat fitted out for Tadoussac. All at once, two men arrived in hot haste from the Cape Tourmente farms, with the astounding news that two vessels laden with English soldiers had landed there,—slaughtered a portion of the cattle—applied the torch to two small houses and stables—seized on some of the workman and carried away some of the sacred vases with which the Friars celebrated mass. After pillaging the place, the marauders, several of whom were French and had visited Tadoussac, the year previous, on De Caën's vessels, had retreated precipitately. Champlain without loosing a moment, set his men to repair the out-works of the habitation and to erect barricades round the Fort, the remparts of which were not yet finished on account of the scarcity of artificers. In anticipation of the impending attack, he assigned to each man the post he was held to defend.

On the 10th July, an English boat arrived with a letter from Capt. David Kirke, to Champlain, requesting him to surrender the Fort and its dependencies.

Champlain assembled the principal inhabitants and read them aloud this letter; Pontgravé was also present. One notices in history with pride the courteous, yet firm and dignified reply of the Governor of Quebec, to this peremptory summons of Capt. Kirke. (Ferland, P 230.)

It had its results; Kirke gave up all idea of storming the place and devoted his energies to intercept and capture Roquemont's fleet, which he met lower down than Tadoussac: in this, he

succeeded. One vessel alone escaped and reached a French port. Father Noyrot was on board.

The capture of the French fleet reduced Quebec to the verge of ruin : for the last three years, provisions had run short as well as ammunition, &c. Should the English return, nothing remained but to surrender.

For sometime past the daily rations, were seven ounces of peas per day for each person : no relief from France, on account of the intervening winter, could reach before ten months. With this disheartening future before him, Champlain's appears as sanguine, as hopeful as ever. His very bearing inspires courage ; his followers are patient because their loved, their fearless commander is a model of patience and fortitude.

The colonists can be saved from starvation during those long and dismal winter months, if the maize and grain harvested by the families Hebert and Couillard, as well as that, saved by the Recollets, is properly husbanded and sparingly doled out ; and so it was ordained and carried.

With the first dawn of spring, Champlain racked his fertile brain for an expedient to provide sustenance for the settlement, should the returning ships fail to fetch the much wanted supplies. Beset with every imaginable difficulty, in no phase of his career, does, the dauntless commander exhibit a stouter heart.

One of the daring schemes which he meditated, was to go, with some of his followers, and with the aid of Indian allies, dispossess the Iroquois of one of their villages where he would surely find provisions

stored ; the idea, however, was abandoned. Champlain contented himself with sending twenty of his brave but famished Frenchmen, to the Hurons ; this little band returned to Quebec on the 17th July (1629) with a party of Hurons in twelve canoes, without having obtained any supplies ; so that in order to keep soul and body together, they too were compelled, like the other settlers, to travel six or seven leagues from the Fort, in quest of roots.

The tilling of the soil—the eel fishery—the pursuit of game, in the surrounding forests, were soon settled on, as the sole remaining mode to escape that terrible death by starvation which loomed out, in a not very distant future.

On the 26th June, Madame de Champlain's brother, Eustache Boullé, in an ill-equipped shallop, of ten or twelve tons, sailed for Gaspé, in order to meet the spring fishing fleet from France. Thirty men accompanied him ; twenty of whom had made up their mind to seek their fortunes on the Gaspé coast, and ten to brave the perils of the deep, under the guidance of Boullé, the bearer of despatches on behalf of Champlain to the French King—to Cardinal de Richelieu and to the partners of the company.

The adventurous crew counted on procuring fish either at Gaspé or on the banks, out at sea ; in the meantime, they lived on roots ; some, the more provident, had succeeded in concealing for this voyage, a small supply of pea-meal.

Eustache Boullé had the good fortune to meet a ship commanded by Emery de Caën, who, among other things, was the bearer of stores for the colony ; he further brought the welcome news of the near

approach of a French fleet, commanded by de Razilly to protect Quebec, against the English. De Caën's ship was subsequently captured and burnt by the "Abigail," Capt. D. Kirke—long ere she reached her destination. Boullé was on his return up the river, taken by an English vessel; the sailors managed to extort from the French, information as to the forlorn state of Quebec, which induced the English to attack the place immediately.

War in earnest had been meant by the English; on the 25th March, (1629) previous, Capt. David Kirke had sailed from Gravesend with a fleet to despoil Canada. It had been fitted out by him for his father, Gervase Kirke and Sir William Alexander of Menstrie: it consisted of the "Abigail," the flag ship—300 tons; the "William," Capt. Lewis Kirke, 200 tons; the "George," Capt. Thomas Kirke, of 200 tons; the "Gervase," Capt. Brewerton, of 200 tons, besides two other ships and three pinnaces, "all well manned, armed and furnished with letters-of-mark under the broad seal of England."¹

His Royal Highness, Louis de Sainte Foi, the Dauphin of Canada.

Abbé Faillon has exhumed from the archives of Rouen, France, a strange incident of our early colonial history, which will be new to many. On the 8th December 1627, a stirring rumor pervaded all classes in the good city of Rouen. The ships from Quebec had brought, it was said, a Huron youth of sixteen, whom Dame Rumour proclaimed the son of the King of Canada, whoever His Ma-

¹ *First Conquest of Canada*, by Henry Kirke, M. A., 1871, P. 69.

jesty may have been. Public curiosity was worked up to the highest pitch.

Vast were the preparations and religious pomp, for the christening of this supposed sprig of Indian Royalty. The important ceremony was allotted to the highest Church dignitary, the Archbishop, who, at the head of a numerous clergy, proceeded to the entrance of the great Cathedral, to receive the budding Indian warrior, solemnly singing the psalm "*Lauda Jerusalem.*" His Highness was then escorted to a lofty platform, from whence the faithful could feast their eyes on the pageant.

His Grace, the Duke of Longueville, the Governor of Normandy, and the haughty Duchess of Villars had condescended to act as sponsors : the royal youth was called—after the reigning French monarch probably—Louis de Sainte Foi. Having returned to the dominions of his fathers, His Highness was, two years after, made a prisoner of war by Captain Kirke, who considered that the possession of such an illustrious personage might facilitate the surrender of Quebec. The English Admiral soon, however, made the unwelcome discovery that the Dauphin of Canada was but the son of a poor, naked savage—of no rank whatever. This so enraged him that he stripped Louis of all the finery he had been wearing and returned him to his *naked* parents, the chronicler adds, "in a very mediocre dress." Signor Louis, on the other hand, took so much to heart the loss of his rank and breeches? that, says the *abbé*, he waved or forgot all the prerogatives of a Christian, and henceforth, the neophyte behaved no better than a pagan.¹

¹ *Histoire de la Colonie française.*—Vol. I, P. 185.

On the 19th July, 1629, the "George" and the "Gervase" were in front of Quebec; a boat with a white flag pulled to the shore.¹ The Governor of the Fort hoisted another in reply, when a naval officer came forward with a letter from Louis and Thomas Kirke, the brothers of David, stating that the desperate state of the Fort was known to the English, asking for its surrender and tendering favorable terms which they promised to have ratified, by Admiral David Kirke, then at Tadoussac. Affairs were indeed at a low ebb for the French; the settlers, says an historian, had for some time past, been reduced to live like "swine, on roots." Alas! dauntless leader, that day-dream of thirty years, that "FRANCE ON WESTERN SOIL" is then to be dissolved in air! Nothing remains, but to bow your head to the stern decree of destiny!

Champlain, however, ere he signed the capitulation, went with Pontgravé, on board the English ships and demanded to be shown the King's commission, under authority of which the Kirkes assumed to act; this also was promised, as soon as they should reach Tadoussac. By the capitulation, the company's officers were allowed to carry away their arms—their clothes—their peltries. The soldiers, to retire each with his "arms and a beaver coat." Churchmen were

¹ The accounts of historians are conflicting as to details. In a recent work on the Conquest of Canada in 1629, by a descendant of David Kirke, it is averred that David came to Quebec with two ships, the *Gervase* and the *George*, whilst the historian Ferland (Vol. I, P. 234), contends that Capt. David Kirke had stopped at Tadoussac and sent up his brothers Louis and Thomas to Quebec, with three vessels, one of one hundred tons, carrying ten guns and two of forty tons, carrying six guns, each.

permitted to retain their books and their wearing apparel. The Governor had also stipulated protection for the places of worship, without forgetting to take measures for the welfare of his friends—widow Hebert and her son-in-law Couillard.¹ Louis and Thomas Kirke also allowed him to bring to Tadoussac two young Indian converts: one called “Hope,” the other “Charity.” This leave was subsequently withdrawn by the Admiral, then at Tadoussac, and the Indian girls returned to Quebec, under the charge of Couillard, who had gone down to Tadoussac, and who promised to educate them like his own children.

We read of a visit paid to the Recollet and Jesuit monasteries, on the banks of the St. Charles, by Capt. Louis Kirke; the Reverend Fathers begged of him to accept a few of their paintings, and, the Parson, who accompanied Kirke, asked the Fathers for a few books, which they were glad to tender him. One would be curious to know, to what department of literature, His Reverence, the Lutheran Minister, took such a strong fancy, whilst looking over the library of the Quebec Jesuits, in July 1629.

The French families who choose to remain, were tendered protection. Champlain and some Frairs and inhabitants took passage for England, in one of the large English ships. On the 20th July, the British ensign was hoisted on the bastion of the Fort, amidst the roar of the artillery of the English men-of-war and of the Fort. British rule was proclaimed to

¹ Couillard has left very numerous descendants. Dr. Gaspard Couillard, formerly Seigneur of St. Thomas, Montmagny, was one; his family was large; one of his daughters, is the wife of the Hon. Alex. de Léry, of Quebec—Senator.

the soldiers assembled probably in the *Grande Place* facing Fort St. Louis, (the Ring). Thus, in less than two years, Sir David Kirke had swept England's enemies from Nova Scotia and Canada.

On the 20th October 1629, he anchored at Plymouth, to hear very bad news, indeed. France and England had concluded peace, nearly two months before the date of the capture of Quebec, viz : on the 24th April 1629. Champlain had laid his case before the French ambassador, in London ; soon, it was known that the King (Charles I) had passed his royal word that " Quebec would be returned to France." Macaulay, has shown what Charles's royal word later on, was worth. Admiral Kirke does not appear to have placed implicit faith in it either, judging from the tenacity with which, for three years, he held on to his conquest and peltries ; however, an excellent financial reason existed why Royal Charles should scrupulously keep his royal covenant. There were still due to the British Monarch, four hundred thousand crowns, balance of the dowry of Queen Henrietta-Maria, and King Louis had sworn a royal oath that unless Quebec were restored, his trusty and well-beloved cousin, on the other side of the channel, might place amongst his bad debts, if he had any, the 400,000 French Crowns. Kings, as well as commoners are not averse to claiming any balance in their favor, shown by the Ledger.

The fate of Quebec was sealed, in spite of the remonstrances of the "Canada Merchants," in England, who complained of the heavy expenditure they had incurred in fitting out at a cost of £60,000,

the fleet which had captured "the American Forts." Nor does David Kirke appear to have considered an acknowledgment in full of his services, the Royal Grant of 1st Dec., 1631, allowing him to wear the coat-armor of Admiral Roquemont, whom he had taken prisoner. Though he became "Sir David," this was far from enough to salve his lacerated feelings and restore his impoverished exchequer.¹

Let us hie back, across the ocean and view Quebec, under British rule. Louis Kirke having been appointed commander of the Fort, continued to treat Champlain, until the latter's departure, on the 24th July, with marked courtesy, allowing him even the privilege of having mass said in Fort Saint Louis (where Champlain resided) until he embarked, though, David Kirke, the admiral, subsequently disapproved of this latter indulgence.

Thus, Louis Kirke remained with ninety men under his command, at Quebec, and a long, dreary winter before him.

Having neglected to sow and till the land, with the exception of what had been cleared by the Recollets and Jesuits, a famine ensued in the winter months of 1629-30. Six pounds of bread: such was the weekly allowance to each settler. Had it not been for the timely succour received from the neighbouring Indians, dire in the extreme, would have been the results. The distress was notwithstanding, intense. Fourteen persons perished during the winter; others suffered in a greater or less, degree.

More than once, it has been asked how many

¹ *The First Conquest of Canada*, Henry Kirke, 1871.

French families, remained at Quebec, under the folds of the British flag, in 1629. Though the ¹ opinions, on this point, are conflicting, we are warranted, we think, in limiting to five, the number of French families who remained. Louis Hébert, had died in 1627; his widow had become the spouse of Guillaume Huboust; her daughter, Guillemette, had married Guillaume Couillard. In addition to these two households, one may safely assert, that the old Scotch pilot, Abraham Martin, stopped behind, as well as the family of Pierre DesPortes and that, of Nicholas Pivert, who in 1628 had returned to Quebec, from the Cape Tourmente settlement. These five families all told, comprised twenty-one souls, exclusive of any servants or menials that might have been in their employ. One fourth of Kirke's garrison was then composed of French.

If Quebec, was in 1629-30, a prey to famine, as just stated, there was an ennemy more formidable yet, lurking within her wooden walls: the demon of religious discord.

Though Kirke by his father's side was of Scotch descent, his mother, was a French woman of Dieppe; he himself had been a wine merchant in Bordeaux. French proclivities occasionally cropped out in his intercourse with his blunt British soldiers. Unfortunately, for the general welfare, he allowed himself to be ruled by some perfidious counsellors, french in their leanings. Hence the origin of the trouble.

¹ Compare *Histoire de la Colonie française au Canada*, Vol. I, Page 174, 202-4-6 with the note on pages 250-1 of *Oeuvres de Champlain*, Vol. III, annotated by abbé Laverdière; on this point of controversy between the two historians, we decidedly would adopt the views of abbé Laverdière.

Diversity of faith, only served to make more apparent, diversity of race. Kirke, the Huguenot, was a Calvinist, whilst the clergyman who accompanied the expedition was a Lutheran. The British soldiers sided with the disciple of Luther; matters getting every day worse, a plot was laid to despatch the Governor of Quebec, together with his French sympathisers. Kirke, luckily found it out in time; punished summarily the conspirators and incarcerated the Lutheran minister, in the Jesuits' residence, on the banks of the meandering St. Charles, for six months; this wholesome exercise of authority, for the time being, caused a cessation of public worship.¹

In the meantime, Champlain, or perhaps, the 400,000 french crowns, carried the point in England. Emery de Caën, who had suffered heavy loss by the surrender of Quebec, was empowered, under a commission signed by the French King and countersigned by Charles I, of England, to reclaim possession of Quebec, in order to make up his losses, by a monopoly of the peltry trade for one year. He was named commander of the whole colony, as well as of the fleet sent out, but Du Plessis Bochart, a Roman Catholic, was named jointly with him to counteract the effect of his calvinistic faith. It was understood that this arrangement was only temporary and that Champlain should succeed him the following year.

On the 13th July, 1632, Quebec was handed over to Emery de Caën and to Du Plessis Bochart; on the same day, the English embarked on two vessels

¹ *Histoire de la Colonie française au Canada.* Vol. I. P. 252

laden with merchandise and furs, and sailed for England.

Lively, indeed, was the feeling of relief and joy experienced by the French, when they returned after an absence of three years. These, had been days of gloom and sorrow and deep regret, for the few French remaining in the settlement; mass had not been celebrated at Quebec for three years. Even the christening of French children, fell to heretical hands; Couillard's infant daughter, born in 1631, was baptized by an English person, probably the Lutheran minister, who after his six months jail, had become, possibly, a wiser man. Father LeJeune, in 1632, hastened to Couillard's house to celebrate mass; the lower-town chapel being in ashes. The "habitation" had also fallen a prey to flames and neglect; nothing stood, but its bare and crumbling walls. In the conflagration, 9,000 beaver skins had also perished—the property of the company of Montmorency. The Jesuits house on the St. Charles, had fallen to decay; even the doors and windows, had been torn down and carried away. The Recollets' convent was in a still worse plight; scarcely a roof remained to shelter the returning French. None were more ready to greet their old acquaintances than the Montagnais Indians; but that curse—intoxicating liquors,—sold to them by the English, had demoralised them and led them in an unguarded moment, to butcher a number of captives, they with the aid of the Algonquins, had made during a victorious fight they had had with the Iroquois; the efforts of the Lutheran minister had proved unavailing to restrain them and their dread of revenge, made them look with sincere joy on the

return of the French, from whom they expected help against the merciless Iroquois.

The Fort, however, was uninjured; the Chapel built in 1615, next to the "habitation" had been burnt in 1629, so, that on the sabbath, public worship was held in an apartment of the Fort; on week days, mass was celebrated at the Jesuits house of *Notre-Dame-des-Anges*, on the little river St. Charles.

On the 1st March 1633, the Company of the Hundred-Associates, presented Champlain to the prime minister, the great Cardinal de Richelieu, who constituted him his Lieutenant, in all the French possessions on the St. Lawrence, with most extensive powers.

On the 23rd May 1633, a guard composed of pikemen and musketeers with drums beating, escorted the founder of Quebec, from the ships to Fort St. Louis. A French squadron was anchored opposite the lofty cliffs of Cape Diamond, viz: the "St. Pierre" of 150 tons, carrying 12 guns; the "St. Jean" of 160 tons, carrying 10 guns, and the "Don de Dieu" of 80 tons and 6 guns. The fleet had also brought out 200 persons, including the Jesuits Massé and Brebœuf, one woman and two young girls.

In ascending the St. Lawrence, Champlain had met several english vessels, as well armed as his own,—trading with the Indians. Not caring to risk the fate of Quebec on an engagement in which his heavily laden vessels would have to fight at disadvantage, he sent word to DuPlessis Bochart, then at Quebec, to prevent the English vessels from

sailing past the Fort and artfully induced the savages, by his promises, to exclude the English from trading with them. In furtherance of this policy, he subsequently established a trading post defended by a battery of guns, on a small island, opposite Point Platon, Lotbinière, which he thus fortified, to shut out English vessels from going beyond.

What a gratifying spectacle it must have been for him to witness the success which crowned his efforts as early as August 1633, when the Hurons, who had shunned the settlement, when Kirke was there, crowded into port with one hundred and fifty canoes, laden with furs¹ and carrying 500 or 600 warriors, of remarkable appetites and athletic frames. The haranguing, feasting, smoking and council-holding which these swarthy sons of the forest, inflicted on the sturdy Governor, taxed to the utmost, his powers of endurance, great though they were.

The year 1633, saw the accomplishment of a vow the pious Champlain had made; should the settlement be recovered from the English, he had promised to build a Church. A temple of worship was accordingly erected and not improperly named, *Notre-Dame de Recouvrance*. It stood on the eastern portion of the site² on which the present *Basilica* was com-

¹ The number of beaver skins traded for in a year sometimes reached 20,000—they were worth each a pistole 8s. 4d.=£8,000—this represented a very large sum in those days.

² Quebec historians entertain different opinions as to the site of *Notre-Dame de Recouvrance*, thus called because of the recovery of the country from England, and also because a picture exposed on the altar had been recovered from a shipwreck. The historian, Ferland, says this church stood on, or in the vicinity of, the site on which the English

menced in 1647. The Jesuit missionaries, in order to be closer for purposes of public worship, established for themselves another dwelling close to the Fort.

A brilliant writer, Francis Parkman, thus sums up the routine of existence at that period: "A stranger visiting the Fort of Quebec would have been astonished at its air of conventual decorum. Black Jesuits and scarfed officers mingled at Champlain's table. There was little conversation, but in its place histories and the lives of saints were read aloud as in a monastic refectory.¹ Prayers, masses and confessions followed each other with an edifying regularity, and the bell of the adjacent chapel, built by Champlain, rang morning, noon and night. Godless soldiers caught the infection and whipped themselves in penance for their sins.² Debauched artisans outdid each other in the fury of their contrition. Quebec was become a mission. Indians gathered thither as of old, not from the baneful lure of brandy, for the traffic in it was no longer tolerated, but from the less pernicious attractions of gifts, kind words, and politic blandishments".....Champlain's example and teachings bore their legitimate fruits, even after his death."

Let us hear Father Le Jeune, minutely describing the punishments which overtook the unruly at Quebec: "Of course in all societies there are some

Cathedral was since built. The abbé Laverdière, after several excavations, sets forth in an elaborate pamphlet, that he has discovered the walls of *Notre-Dame de Recourance*, in the eastern portion of the site on which the Roman Catholic Cathedral was subsequently built.

¹ Le Jeune. *Relations*—1634.

² Le Jeune. *Relations*—1634.

discontented spirits, to whom the very mildest forms of restraint seem odious. All such are provided for here; for on the 29th December, 1635, notices and prohibitions were affixed to a pillar in front of the church, specifying the penalties for blasphemy, intemperance, neglect of mass or of divine service on *fête* days. Also, a pillory was attached to the same, which was had recourse to, on the 18th of January, to punish a drunkard and blasphemer; and on the 22nd, one of our people was condemned to pay a fine of fifty livres, for having supplied intoxicating liquors to the savages."

History has handed down an able letter written by Champlain, to Cardinal de Richelieu, in which he details the works and improvements he had undertaken at Quebec, and in the little Island, ¹ opposite St. Croix, in which he built Fort Richelieu, to prevent hostile parties of Indians from descending the river and foreign enemies from ascending.

Champlain continued to labor incessantly for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the colony, until about the 10th October, 1635, when a stroke of paralysis laid him prostrate. He never rose again from his couch, nor was he ever again able to sign his name to public or private documents.

"Christmas day 1635, was a dark day in the annals of New France. In a chamber of the Fort, breathless and cold, lay the hardy frame, which war, the wilderness and the sea had buffeted so long in vain.

After two months and a half of illness, Champlain, at the age of sixty-eight, was dead. His last

¹ This rocky channel, a dangerous portion of the St. Lawrence, is now called "The Richelieu."

cares were for his colony and the succour of its suffering families. Jesuits, officers, soldiers, traders and the few settlers of Quebec, followed his remains to the church ; Le Jeune pronounced his eulogy, and the feeble community built a ¹ tomb to his honor. The colony could ill spare him. For twenty-seven years, he had labored hard, for its welfare, sacrificing fortune, repose and domestic peace to a cause embraced with enthusiasm and pursued with intrepid persistency. His character belonged partly to the past, partly to the present. The *preux chevalier*, the crusader, the romance-loving explorer, the curious, knowledge-seeking traveller,

¹ The remains of the Founder of Quebec were deposited in a vault "sepulchre particulier"—over which, soon afterwards his successor Governor de Montmagny, appears to have caused the erection of the small structure known as Champlain's Chapel. The site of this building has recently become the subject of a lively controversy. In 1860, Mr. Hugh O'Donnell, then manager of the City Waterworks, in conducting some excavations, connected with the waterworks, found a stone vault, under the steps leading down from Mountain Hill to Champlain street : in it, were found a coffin and human bones, which were pronounced to be those of the illustrious Governor. In the *Journal L'Opinion Publique*, of the 4th November, 1875, much new light is thrown on this debated question, by the publication of historical documents recently discovered amongst the papers and notes bequeathed to the Laval University by an eminent President of the *Literary and Historical Society*, Geo. B. Faribault, esquire. These documents go far to favor a view, I have long entertained, that Champlain's remains were to be sought for not in the lower-town but in the upper town of Quebec, near the Ring or *Grande Place*. Champlain's Chapel, in which his body rested, in a "Sepulchre particulier" according to these documents, stood, near the site of the present Post office ; this recent archeological controversy, will doubtless ere long lead to further researches. In addition to details published in the *Opinion Publique*, much curious data will be found in the pamphlets published in 1866-7 by the abbés Laverdière and Casgrain and Mr. Stanislas Drapeau. See *appendix Verbo CHAMPLAIN'S TOMB*.

the practical navigator, all claimed their share in him. With the life of the faithful soldier closes the opening period of "New France." Let us add, one of the most romantic eras in our annals.



CHAPTER II.

1635—1663.

IROQUOIS AGGRESSION.

MONTMAGNY, THE SECOND GOVERNOR OF QUEBEC, 1636. — THE JESUITS COLLEGE FOUNDED, 1637. — ARRIVAL OF THE URSULINES AND HOTEL-DIEU NUNS, 1639. — CONFLAGRATION OF THE PARISH CHURCH, 1640. — ROMAN CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL COMMENCED, 1647. — THE DISPERSED HURONS SEEK REFUGE IN QUEBEC, 1649. — DESTRUCTION BY FIRE OF THE URSULINES CONVENT, 1650. — IROQUOIS INCURSIONS, 1656. — INDIAN MASSACRES, 1658. — THE GREAT EARTHQUAKE, 1663.

— This chapter will trace with the history of Quebec, the origin of its public edifices during twenty-eight years. Though associated with the foundation of several of the most important religious establishments, still existing in modern Quebec, these were not years of peace, but of constant struggle ; at times of dire alarm—of gloom verging on despair. The causes : inherent weakness—external hostility—metropolitan mis-rule.

For the scanty colonists, during this blighting period, one idea, one only prevailed : self-preservation against Indian surprise.

A long wished-for change came at last ; the suppression in 1663, of the company of the Hundred-As-

sociates and the inauguration on its ruins by the King, of a royal government.

To Quebec, if not to Montreal, this heralded, a new life—the cessation of a long train of miseries. Let us resume our narrative :

Mr. de Chateaufort, selected by Champlain himself, to replace him, had held the reins of power from Christmas, 1635, to the 11th June, 1636. On that day, the entire population preceeded by musketeers and martial music, hurried down to the port, to greet the new Governor, Charles Huault de Montmagny, a brave, pious and distinguished Knight of Malta. On touching Canadian soil, de Montmagny stalked up Mountain hill, and on his way,¹ meeting with a cross, devoutly knelt down to offer up a prayer. A solemn *Te Deum* was chaunted at the church of *Notre-Dame de Recouvrance*, after which de Chateaufort delivered over to the King's representative, together with the keys of Fort St. Louis, the external signs of authority and command.

One of the new Governor's first cares, was to place the colony on a sound footing as to defence. Champlain, before closing his eventful career, had ordered the reconstruction of the palisade which formed the out-works of the Fort, and had also erected a battery of guns in the lower-town, opposite the warehouses, to command this part of the river. De Montmagny resolved to go much further ; a plan of a new fort to be built of stone, was prepared, and his artificers with pic and shovel, might be seen actively engaged

¹ This cross stood most probably within the small cemetery then existing, near the top of Mountain Hill, of which traces were recently found, facing Turcotte's Block.

in hewing stone out of the quarry—burning lime—baking bricks. The irregularity of the streets, at first narrow foot-paths, where the forest had stood, next claimed his earnest attention. To ensure regularity in the highways, a new plan of the city was ordered.

De Montmagny's example and ideas of progress were not lost on his followers. Private dwellings, as well as public edifices, underwent rapid transformations, to such a degree that the old residents marvelled at the pleasing appearance of the city generally.

Several families of note ¹ had now selected New France as their adoptive home. Father Le Jeune, will furnish us with some delightful glimpses of Canadian life at that early time. "Here, we have," says he, "honourable gentlemen and soldiers, whom it is a pleasure to behold going through warlike exercises in the midst of peace, and hear the report of musquetry and cannon only on occasions of rejoicing, re-echoed from our grand forests and mountains, like innocuous thunder. The other inhabitants consist of a mass of various artisans and a number of honorable families, notably increased of late. Even our savages are astonished to see so many of what they call "Captains and young Captains."

"The roll of the drum wakes us up at dawn :

¹ Amongst others, that of sieur Robert Giffard, a noted physician, on whom the Company bequeathed the *Seigneurie* of Beauport; he had then several artificers and laborers at work there; soon a village sprang up. Nor must we omit recording the arrival of other remarkable colonists, the Repentignys, de Tillys, La Potheries &c.—One hundred and fifty years afterwards, we will find the name of Beauport selected by the first English Governor of Quebec, General Jas. Murray, for his country-seat in England.

sentries go their rounds. The guard-room is well looked after. Each sentinel has his allotted period of duty. Our Quebec Fort, is guarded even in time of peace, like a powerful fortress, during war"..... and further. "When they tell us, at Québec, that there is a number of persons at Tadoussac, and that nothing is to be seen below, but men, women and little children coming to increase our colony, and that amongst them are young ladies and young children as bright as the day, I leave you to judge how joy and surprise take possession of our hearts. Who care snow for the difficulty of crossing the ocean, when such young children and girls and women naturally timid, make nothing of the long sea-voyage?".....

Such, the glowing picture, traced by this hopeful and devoted missionary, during the halcyon days of peace—the short truces, purchased more than once, from the merciless Indian foes, with the most generous blood of the colonists.

The delapidated old pile, rebuilt after 1720, facing the Roman Catholic Cathedral, the Jesuits college, better known to us, as the Jesuits Barracks, since it was taken possession of, in 1763, by Governor Murray, for the accommodation of troops, dates back to 1637.¹ At first, it had been contemplated to erect a college in the valley of the St. Charles, close to the residence of the Jesuits, *Notre-Dame-des-Anges*, where

¹ One year later, in 1638, John Harvard bequeathed £779 17s. 2d. to support the college recently founded by the Legislature of Massachusetts, near Boston, at Newtown, which that year, changed its name into Cambridge. The first professor of Harvard College, Nathaniel Eaton, had, according to Winthrop, been educated by the Jesuits.

Quebec was to be transferred, but the idea of changing the site of the city having been given up, twelve *arpents* of land, on the 18th March, 1637, were granted to the Jesuit Fathers, in the vicinity of Fort St. Louis. As early as 1626, when Quebec contained but fifty souls, a sufficient sum to begin such a structure, had been tendered. A young nobleman of Picardy, René de Rohault, son of the Marquis de Gamache, before taking orders as a jesuit, had requested the Marquis, his father, to hand over his patrimony, ¹ sixteen thousand *écus d'or* to the missions of Canada. The subsequent surrender of the Fort and its sequel of troubles delayed the carrying out of this benevolent bequest, but it was not lost sight of and was taken advantage of, so soon as it had been regularly accepted by the superior of the Jesuits, Father Vitelleschi, in the name of the celebrated order.

On the 11th June, 1638, a violent shock of an earthquake startled the denizens of the rock. Boston and the New England settlements were still more severely tried, during the year, by frequent and violent commotions of the earth. More than a century previous, the Indians had related to Cartier, dreadful things about earthquakes; the convulsions of the soil in the mountainous region, north of the city, bear witness to these violent up-heavings of nature.

The sultry summer of 1639, saw the welcome arrival of the Ursulines and Hospitalières Nuns. The first, destined to render invaluable assistance to popular education—; the second, as nurses to

¹ Creuxius says, *millia aureorum sexdecim*. De Belmont, Charlevoix after him, put down six thousand *écus d'or*, instead of sixteen thousand. Faillon accepts this last figure.

alleviate the pangs of suffering humanity. Francis Parkman, the historian, with his usual felicity of style, will introduce us to these devoted ladies, on their landing in Canada.

¹ "On the fourth of May, 1639, Madame de la Peltrie, Marie de l'Incarnation, Marie de St. Bernard, and another Ursuline, embarked at Dieppe, for Canada. In the ship were also three ² young hospital nuns, sent out to found, at Quebec, a Hôtel-Dieu, endowed by the famous niece of Richelieu, the Duchesse d'Aiguillon. Here, too, were the Jesuits Chaumonot and Poncet, on the way to their mission, together with Father Vimont, who was to succeed Le Jeune, in his post of Superior. To the nuns, pale from their cloistered seclusion, there was a strange and startling novelty in this new-world of life and action,—the ship, the sailors, the shouts of command, the flapping of sails, the salt winds and the boisterous sea. The voyage was long and tedious. Sometimes, they lay in their berths, sea-sick and woe-begone; sometimes, they sung in choir, on deck, or heard mass in the cabin. Once, on a misty morning, a wild cry of alarm startled crew and passengers alike. A huge ice-berg was drifting close upon them. The peril was extreme. Madame de la Peltrie, clung to Marie de l'Incarnation, who stood perfectly calm, and gathered

¹ *The Jesuits in North America*, P. 181-2.

² Marie de Saint Ignace; Anne de Saint Bernard; Marie de Saint Bonaventure.

They had sailed in the flag ship of the Canada fleet, Capt. Bontemps and were transferred at Tadoussac, to the *Saint Jacques*, Capt. Angot, and disembarked at Quebec, in the Governor's carpeted boat—*chaloupe tapissée*—says Faillon.

her gown about her feet that she might drown with decency. It is scarcely necessary to say that they were saved by a vow to the Virgin and St Joseph. Vimont, offered it in behalf of all the company, and the ship glided into the open sea unharmed.

They arrived at Tadoussac, on the fifteenth of July ; and the nuns ascended to Quebec in a small craft deeply laden with salted codfish, on which, uncooked, they subsisted until the first of August, when they reached their destination. Cannon roared welcome from the fort and batteries ; all labor ceased ; the storehouses were closed ; and the zealousde Montmagny, with a train of priests and soldiers, met the new-comers, at the landing. All the nuns fell prostrate, and kissed the sacred soil of Canada. They heard mass at the Church, dined at the fort, and presently set forth to visit the new settlement of Sillery, four miles above Quebec." The residence of the Ursulines nuns was not yet begun, and the foundation stone of the *Hospitalières*, was scarcely placed. They found shelter in a new house belonging to the Hundred-Associates, near Fort St. Louis, whilst the Ursulines were lodged in a small house, on a wharf, belonging to Mr. Juchereau des Châtelets, near the warehouses of the Company, in the lower-town—Blanchard's Hotel now stands on the site.

Ancient Religious establishments.

" The totally different policy observed by the English and French Governments, as to the religious establishment of their Colonies in North America, although easily assigned to the opposite motive of each, presents, at the present day, a very interesting

contrast. The English Colonies,—founded by zealous Dissenters, or by persons who conceived that all established forms of religion savoured of tyranny and oppression—soon received the most judicious encouragement from the parent state, and obtained advantageous charters from the Crown. They entered with spirit into commercial enterprises, and made rapid advances to riches, prosperity, and power. The French, on the other hand, were established by men of a different stamp, attached to the forms of their ancient religion—who sought to enhance their own reputation, and to extend the glory and power of their country, by penetrating among the savage tribes—by converting them to their own faith—by rigidly excluding what they considered the contamination of calvinistic doctrines—and by sending among them Missionaries, in order to establish a religious dominion over them. Actuated by these powerful incentives, they commenced by keeping good faith with the savages,—they cultivated their friendship and took part in their enmities as good and trusty allies. Thus they soon acquired over the Indian mind, an influence far more extensive than any other European nation. But the result of this conduct was not politically successful, as regarded the advance of the colony. By far too great a portion of toil, of zeal, and of authority seems from the first to have been directed to the Indian tribes, if we may judge from the result of an amiable, though, perhaps, mistaken policy. The subserviency of their colonial system, and even of commerce itself, to the propagation of the religion of the state is apparent throughout the early history of this Colony, and hence its

tardy progress under the French Government ; and its present inferiority, as to riches and population, as to the English colonies planted about the same period.

“ Whatever neglect, however, the temporal affairs of New France might have experienced, before it was taken under the protection of the Royal Government in 1663—it is clear that nothing had been left unattempted from the earliest times, to provide for the spiritual welfare of the settlers, and for the instruction of the neophytes among the savages. As early as 1614, on the formation of a new and more extensive company of merchants trading to New France, Champlain had the devotion to introduce, and sufficient interest to obtain the passing of a clause in the articles, by which they engaged to defray the expenses of four ecclesiastics, who were to be sent out for the important object of spreading the true religion among the natives. The views of the pious founder of Quebec are thus explained: “ Seeing that we had no Priests, we obtained some through the interference of the sieur Houel, who had a peculiar affection towards this holy design, and who told me that the *Récollet* Fathers would be proper for this purpose, both to reside in our habitation, and to convert the infidels. I agreed in this opinion, they being void of ambition, and conforming altogether to the rule of St. Francis. I spoke of it to My Lord, the Prince, who entered into my views ; and the company offered of their own accord, to support them, until they could obtain a Seminary, which they hoped to do, by means of the charitable donations, that might be bestowed upon them for the care and instruction of

youth." Champlain accordingly sailed from Honfleur on the 24th April, 1615, with four *Récollet* Fathers; and after a favorable passage, without meeting ice or any other impediment, they reached Tadoussac on the 25th May, where they returned thanks for their safe arrival.

The first establishment of the religious communities of Quebec, has a peculiar interest; and it is difficult to determine which is more worthy of admiration, the liberality of the design on the part of the founders, or the devotedness and fearlessness displayed by those appointed for its execution. The early history of Canada teems, indeed, with instances of the purest religious fortitude, zeal, and heroism—of young and delicate females, relinquishing the comforts of civilisation to perform the most menial offices towards the sick—to dispense at once the blessings of medical aid to the body, and of religious instruction to the soul of the benighted and wondering savage. They must have been upheld by a strong sense of duty—an overpowering conviction of the utility of their purposes,—a full persuasion of their efficacy, both towards their own eternal salvation, and that of their newly converted flock. But for such impressions, it would have been beyond human nature to make the sacrifices which the *Hopitalières* made, in taking up their residence in New France. Without detracting from the calm and philosophic demeanor of religion at the present day, it is doubtful whether any pious persons could be found willing to undergo the fatigues, uncertainty and personal danger, experienced by the first missionaries of both sexes in New France. Regardless of climate, to whose horrors

they were entirely unaccustomed—of penury and famine—of danger to the person—of death, and martyrdom itself—they pressed onward to the goal to which their religious course was directed—and sustained by something more than human fortitude—by divine patience. They succeeded at length in establishing on a firm foundation the altars, and the faith of their country and their God ! For ambition's sake, for lucre, for fame—men have braved danger in a hundred fights, until the world by common consent has elevated the successful tyrant to the rank of a hero among his fellows—but to incur the horrors of savage life, the risk of torture and even death—in a word, the agonizing suspense and constant anxieties of a missionary, for no other reward than that of self approbation, and with no other support than that of religion—requires courage and devotion of a far higher order, and merits glory of the most enduring character. The labors and privations of the first religious communities, who established themselves even within the walls of Quebec, were many—their paths were dark, dreary and intricate ; but the bright star of enthusiasm, like the clew of Ariadne, carried them along—they felt that if one glimpse of the sacred light they bore could be brought to dawn upon the benighted souls of those they wished to save, their zeal would be amply rewarded, and their labor forgotten.”

The Ursuline Convent.

“ This institution, as well as that of the Hotel-Dieu, owes its origin to the powerful representations of the Jesuits settled in New France. The object of

the latter was not, however, merely to provide the means of religious instruction and education for the female children of the French residents. They contemplated the instruction also of the young daughters of the converted Indian—so extensive and philanthropic were the views of this order. The company of merchants to whose direction the temporal affairs of the Colony were confided,—men of worldly views, and more anxious for a good return of furs, than solicitous of extending to the savage benefits, which seemed to them unnecessary and premature—took no steps to promote the settlement of the Ursulines. In justice it should be added, neither did they take measures to prevent it.

“Several unsuccessful attempts were made to carry into effect a foundation so desirable as that of the Ursulines, whose peculiar province it was to devote themselves to the education of female children. At length, as in the case of the *Hospitalières*, it was reserved for a young widow of Alençon, a person of rank and fortune, named Madame de la Peltrie, to surmount every obstacle; and to accomplish her purpose by devoting her whole fortune, and consecrating even personal labor to the good work. With two Ursulines from Tours, and one from Dieppe, she attended the rendez-vous of the Canada fleet, and sailed on the 4th May, 1639, for Quebec, in company with the *Hospitalières*.

“The courage and devotion of Madame de La Peltrie have been highly celebrated. Persons of similar qualities have appeared in almost every age to meet the wants of society—without whose energy and self denial few of those philanthropic institutions, to

which the world owes so much at the present day, would have been matured, and successfully established. This devout lady give up all to carry into effect her laudable design; and is even said to have at one time worked with her own hands in the cultivation of the ground, on which the Ursuline Convent now stands. She divested herself of all superfluous clothing, and parted with her wardrobe to supply raiment to the poor children of the colonists, whom she fed as well as clothed: her whole life indeed was a series of charitable deeds, which have rendered her name illustrious in the religious annals of Canada. The fruits of her valuable foundation are to this day experienced, in the excellent education which is afforded to young females in the school of the Ursuline convent.

“ The reception of the Ursulines has been already described under the Hotel-Dieu. The *Hospitalières* went immediately to Sillery—the Ursulines were established in a small house on the river side, most probably on the St. Charles. Like the *Hospitalières* they suffered trials and privations innumerable. Scarcely had they arrived, when the small-pox broke out in Quebec. But they were not disconcerted: they indeed preserved their health, and had presence of mind enough, in the midst of death, to employ themselves in the study of the Indian languages, in order to render themselves more useful to the community among which they had begun their pious career. It has been stated that their first intention was to educate the female children of the Indians. Finding this to be inconvenient, and almost impracticable, they were, after some years,

reluctantly compelled to abandon that part of their design.

“ The Ursulines completed their first convent in 1641. It was built most probably of wood; and stood within the present possessions of the Community, between St. Lewis Garden, St. Anne and St. Ursule Streets. A very curious pictorial plan, or map, of the original Convent is still in existence. In this, St. Lewis Street appears merely a broad road between the original forest trees, and is called *La Grande Allée*—without a building immediately on either side. At a little distance to the north of *La Grande Allée*, is a narrower path, called *Le Petit Chemin*, running parallel and leading into the forest. This smaller path went exactly through the choir of the present Chapel; the great door of which is between the two roads, but close to the narrower one, as described in the map. A small brook ran, apparently from Cap Diamond, diagonally across both *La Grande Allée* and *Le Petit Chemin*; and thence, into Garden Street. Close to the spot where the Chapel now stands, and nearly in front of the great door, was the residence of Madame de La Peltrie the founder of the Convent; which is described in the plan as occupying, in 1642, the corner of Garden Street, nearly opposite to the classical school and residence of the Reverend D. Wilkie, (in 1834). The Ursuline Convent itself stood to the north-west of Madame de La Peltrie's house, abutting on *Le Petit Chemin*, which ran parallel to St. Louis Street, and fronting towards Garden Street. It is represented as being a well proportioned and substantial building, two stories high, with an attic—four chimnies, and a

cupola, or belfry in the centre. The number of windows in front were eleven on the upper story; which contained the *parloir*, dormitory, and infirmary. On the lower story were the Chapel, and other necessary apartments. The door leading to the *parloir*, which was in the upper story, opened on the south end: that of the Chapel was in front of the building. The convent was surrounded by a court, in which, according to the ancient plan, was the well. Several female children are represented as taking their recreation there between the hours of school attendance. In other compartments of this singular map are seen, la *Mère de l'Incarnation*, so celebrated by Charlevoix, instructing the young *sauvages*, under an ancient ash tree;—*Mère St. Joseph*, going to teach the catechism to the Huron and Algonquin neophytes; and *Mère St. Croix*, accompanied by a young Canadian boarder, proceeding to visit the wigwams of the savages, some of whom are represented as residing in the forest, inclosed within the precincts of the Ursulines. With the exception of the buildings of the Convent, its court yard, and Madame de La Peltrie's house, all the ground including both sides of St. Lewis Street, is represented in the picture as in the natural state. In *La Grande Allée*—the present St. Lewis Street—we see M. Dailleboust, the governor, on horseback, riding gently along—he has, apparently, just been conversing with Madame de La Peltrie, who is entering her own house, conducting a young female by the hand. In Garden Street are several priests, probably Recollets, approaching the convent.

“ The plan we have attempted to describe is pro-

bably the most ancient, as it is the most interesting, representation extant of any portion of Quebec in its early days.

“ In 1650, the Convent was destroyed by fire—an enemy which proved most destructive to the early establishments of Quebec. The fire broke out on the 30th December, and was occasioned by some coals which had been left by a sister employed in the bakehouse, which was in a cellar at the north end of the building. The nuns made their escape by the door at the south end, which led by a staircase to the *parloir*; but the building was entirely consumed. Its inmates, to the number of fourteen, were kindly received, and hospitably entertained during three weeks, by the nuns of the Hotel-Dieu. On the 21st January, 1651, they removed to the house of Madame de La Peltrie, which had been prepared for their reception. On this occasion a solemn act, or convention, was drawn up and executed by the Superiors of the Ursulines and the *Hospitalières*, the purport of which was, “ that in order to preserve a perpetual and indissoluble union and love between the two communities, there shall exist between them for the future, an entire friendship, and participation of spiritual goods, with a mutual exchange of good offices, and prayers.”

“ In the plan of the old Convent to which we have above referred, there is also introduced a representation of Sister St. Laurent, a woman of extraordinary merit, who is described as one of the most sainted Nuns the Community ever possessed. She greatly contributed to the re-establishment of the Ursuline Convent, after this fire, not only by her intelligence and economy, but even by personal labor.

“On the 21st October, 1686, on the *fête* of St. Ursula, and during the performance of high mass, the Convent caught fire, and was a second time burned to the ground, without any conjecture as to the manner in which the accident originated. Nothing was saved from the rapidity of the flames, neither provisions, or linen, or any other clothing than that in use at the time. Once more, the Ursulines took refuge with the *Hospitalières*, who received them as kindly as before, to the number of twenty-five; and they again remained for the space of three weeks under the roof of the Hotel-Dieu, receiving every possible mark of attention and commiseration from that Community. In the mean time, such was the utility of this institution, that every one took an interest in the reparation of the disaster. The Governor and the Intendant, the Jesuits and other communities all contributed by every means in their power. The rebuilding of the convent was soon commenced; and a small house was hastily constructed, in which they passed the winter, all the necessary furniture and utensils having been generously supplied by the *Hospitalières*. It was singular, that on the very day on which the Ursulines left the Hotel-Dieu, accompanied, as a mark of respect and friendship, by the Superior and one or two of the nuns *Hospitalières*, the latter were near being reduced to the same extremity as that from which they had relieved the Ursulines. One of the *Hospitalières*, who had returned much fatigued, after passing the day in assisting the Ursulines to establish themselves in their temporary residence, fell asleep in her cell, leaving a candle burning in the

socket, which soon communicated to the furniture. Fortunately, the sister whose duty it was to see that all was secure before retiring for the night, discovered the accident in time to save the life of the careless nun, and probably the whole building from destruction.

“ The Ursuline Convent of Quebec having been found of such utility, the inhabitants of Three-Rivers made application to Monseigneur de St. Vallier, then Bishop, for a separate foundation of Ursulines for that Borough. This was accomplished in 1697, when the Ursuline Convent was established there, depending upon the Community of Quebec; and uniting, with their own consent, the office of Ursulines with that of *Hospitalières*—at once educating the female children, and administering to the wants of the sick. A similar union of the duties of these two Communities was found convenient in Louisiana, where the Ursulines were established at New Orleans in 1725, and combined with their other occupations the care of the Hospital.

“ The nunnery, which with its garden and outbuildings occupies seven acres of ground within its own Fief of St. Joseph, is a plain but commodious edifice of stone, two stories high, forming a square of about thirty-eight yards long, by forty feet deep. The rest of the site, with the exception of the court, is occupied by a productive garden, and surrounded by a stone wall. The Chapel and Choir of St. Ursula is ninety-five feet long, and forty-five feet broad. Quite plain and unpretending without, its altars are highly adorned, and the whole interior is not deficient in a venerable and religious appearance. Within the

grating, it is connected with the Convent ; and opens to the public towards Garden Street. In the ancient plan above mentioned, the exact site of the present door is accurately laid down, as we have described it above.

“ Within the precincts of the convent, lie buried the remains of the gallant Marquis De Montcalm, who was mortally wounded in the eventful battle of the Plains of Abraham, 18th September, 1759. A year or two ago (in 1832,) a plain marble slab was placed in the Ursuline chapel to the memory of this brave but unfortunate soldier, by His Excellency the Lord Aylmer, Governor-in-Chief of these Provinces. The following is the simple inscription upon this slab :—

Honneur
à
MONTCALM!
Le destin en lui dérobant
La Victoire,
L'a récompensé par
Une Mort Glorieuse!

“ The Ursuline chapel contains several good pictures, which may be examined on application to the Chaplain. Among them is a *Mater Dolorosa* by Vandyke : a picture on a religious subject by the celebrated Le Sueur :—*The capture of Christians by Algerine pirates*, by Restout, historical painter to the King of France, who died in 1733 :—Two pictures, *The Saviour at meat in Simon's house*, and, *A full length portrait of the Redeemer*, by Champagne, an eminent Flemish painter, who was afterwards painter to the Queen of France, and died in 1674.

“ The community of the Ursulines consist of a Su-

perior, forty-two professed nuns, (in 1834) and some novices. Their rules are rigidly exclusive, and their Convent is not open to public inspection, beyond the *Parloir* and the Chapel. It is in its interior neat, well arranged, and tastefully decorated. The nuns are devoted to the instruction of young females in useful knowledge, and ornamental education when required; their school has long been esteemed one of the best in the Province. The paintings executed by themselves are much admired: their embroidery and fancy work are sold at high rates. The proceeds of the skill and labor of these nuns go to augment the common stock, and enable them to extend their usefulness without diminishing the fixed property of their Community.”¹

“The 15th of June, 1640, was a dark day for de Montmagny’s pious followers. A fire, fanned by a high wind and a dry atmosphere, swept away the Governor’s chapel, the Jesuits’ residence adjoining, the parish Church *Notre-Dame de Recouvrance*, which stood a little to the north-east. In less than three hours, scarcely anything remained of these wooden structures. Nearly all the contents were destroyed:² the church vases, bells, church registers of marriages, baptisms and burials, as well as valuable stores of clothing for the Three Rivers, Sillery and *Notre-Dame-des-Anges* settlements. The Jesuits sought refuge in the Hôtel-Dieu, until de Montmagny could lend them a house to reside in.

¹ Hawkin’s *Picture of Quebec*.

² See note, page 21.

The Hotel-Dieu.

“ We have already mentionned the dangers and privations endured not only by the Missionaries, who were conducted by religious fervor into the recesses of the forest, far from the habitations of civilised man—but by young and delicate females, sprung from ancient and respectable families, who flocked to New France as to a glorious field of Christian exertion. Of these, none were more conspicuous than the *Hospitalières*, or religious ladies forming the community of the Hotel-Dieu.

“ One of the first objects of the Colony of Champlain after its restoration to the French, in 1638, was the foundation of an Hotel-Dieu, in Quebec. Europeans, who came to establish themselves in a rude and untried climate, after a navigation in those days both long and perilous, were subject to frequent and distressing maladies, particularly during the winter; against the rigors of which, they were unprovided both as to clothing and diet. To alleviate the evils which arose from the general want of those comforts which are peculiar to a state of advanced civilisation, they had no other resource than in public and charitable foundations. Nor was such an establishment, as the Hotel-Dieu less necessary in regard to the Indians. In addition to the absence of medical care among themselves—their ignorance of the more formidable diseases, and their natural dislike to witness, much less long to tolerate, even their nearest connexions in a state of feebleness and sickness—rendered them insensible, while in their savage state, to the delicacy of medical attendance, and incapable of providing other than tem-

porary remedies for sickness or accident. To the Nuns *Hospitalières* the savages, who were overcome by sickness, in the neighborhood of Quebec, owed the cure of their bodies, and their soul's health—zeal and charity combined to render such proselytes dear—and christianity must have appeared to the converted Indians in its most attractive and endearing aspect—not only insuring happiness in a future state, but presenting immediate consolation and relief from the bitterness of their personal maladies.

“The colony being as yet too poor to undertake this necessary establishment, through the representations of the Jesuits, the subject came to be discussed, and soon to be popular among the rich and powerful of the mother country. In 1636, the Duchess d'Aiguillon, niece to the famous Cardinal de Richelieu, resolved to found an Hotel-Dieu in Quebec, at her own expense. She was, however, liberally assisted by her relative; and during their joint lives, they continued to testify their kindness and affection towards the foundation. By contract passed on the 16th April 1637, they gave an annual rent of fifteen hundred *livres*, on a capital of twenty thousand, as a commencement of their laudable and benevolent design: on condition “that the Hospital should be dedicated to the death and precious blood of the Son of God, shed for the mercy of all mankind;” and that masses should be said forever for the repose of the souls of the founders. This donation was afterwards doubled in amount—but the revenues appear never to have been equal to the expenses incurred; and of late years the pecuniary aid of the Legislature has been frequently bestowed upon this deserving community.

" In the execution of the foundation, the Duchess d'Aiguillon obtained from the Company of merchants a considerable concession of waste lands, which they called Ste. Marie ; and a grant of a piece of ground within the precincts of the city, being the site now occupied by the Hotel-Dieu, its buildings and spacious garden, covering altogether about twelve acres.

" The Duchess had proposed to the *Hospitalières* of Dieppe to take charge of the new foundation at Quebec. These nuns joyfully accepted the offer ; and three of their community eagerly prepared themselves for a voyage across the Atlantic, in discharge of what they considered a religious duty. The eldest was chosen superior : her age was twenty-nine—the youngest was only twenty-two years old.

" The fleet for New France at that time had its rendez-vous at Dieppe ; where, amidst the encouragement and congratulation of all classes interested in the design, they embarked on the 4th May 1639, accompanied by other vessels, having on board Madame de La Peltrie, and three Ursuline Nuns, destined for a new Convent at Quebec—several Jesuits, and other Priests for the different missions. After a rough passage, and some danger from the ice, they arrived safe at Tadoussac on the 15th July. Here they remained some days, subjected to much inconvenience, until they found a small vessel to take them up the river to Quebec. On the 31st July, they approached the harbor, but the tide being against them, it was resolved to land upon the Isle of Orleans, then uninhabited. They passed the night in wigwams

constructed for the purpose, one for the nuns, another for the Priests, and a third for the crew. The next morning they prepared to depart, having first ordered the muskets to be discharged, and fires to be made in the woods, in token of their joy and gratitude for their safe arrival in the land of promise—the scene of their Christian labors. These fires being observed from Quebec, the Chevalier de Montmagny, who had succeeded Champlain in the Government, sent forward a canoe, which soon returned with the gratifying intelligence of the arrival of the nuns. The first of August, the day on which the ladies arrived, so long and so ardently desired, was thought worthy of being celebrated as a *Fête*. The shops were closed, and all labor suspended. The troops were under arms, and the Governor at their head received the religious heroines on the river side, under a salute from the Fort. On landing, they reverentially kissed the chosen ground; and after the first compliments, were led by the Governor, and the acclamation of the people, to the Jesuits Church, then the *Paroisse* where *Te Deum* was sung, and High Mass performed, in thanksgiving for their safe arrival.

“Notwithstanding the joyful reception which these nuns met with, such was then the poverty of Quebec, that they for some time suffered the greatest privations, even to the want of necessary food and clothing, until they were permanently established in the Hotel-Dieu, which did not arrive for many years afterwards. They were at first lodged, as has been stated elsewhere, in a small house belonging to the Company, where their only furniture was a

table and two benches. They were even indebted to the Governor for their first meal in New France; and as their baggage was still on board their vessel at Tadoussac, they were obliged to sleep on branches of trees, laid upon the floor, until the 15th August, when they received their furniture and effects.

“ After taking lessons in the Algonquin tongue from father LeJeune, they commenced their labors by receiving several sick persons, whom they tended with great care, as well Indians as French. The small-pox broke out among the former with great virulence, and the nature of their employment would have been intolerable to delicate females, had they not been supported throughout by a powerful sense of religious duty.

“ In 1640, they gave up their house in Quebec to the use of the Jesuits, whose residence had been destroyed by fire; and retired to St. Michel (Sillery), which had been lent to them by Monsieur de Puiseaux. As the site of their grant in the city, on which the Hotel-Dieu now stands, appeared to them, in the infancy of their pecuniary means, every way inconvenient from its rocky and uneven nature, and the deficiency of water, which could only then be obtained by descending the steep cliff to the River St. Charles—they determined to suspend the buildings which had been commenced upon it, and to erect a stone house at Sillery, in the neighborhood of the establishment of the Jesuits there. They were induced to do this the rather, as the Indians greatly preferred a residence there to Quebec; although not long afterwards, the incursions of the Iroquois rendered Sillery a much less secure position. The

Hospitalières of Quebec, having been joined in 1640 by two additional nuns from the community of Dieppe, making in all five, laid the first stone of their buildings at Sillery, on the 9th July, with great ceremony; but continued to reside at St. Michel until it was habitable in 1641. Their condition on taking possession of this house, which was in an unfinished state, was uncomfortable in the extreme. They were more than a league from Quebec, living among savages, with no other French protectors than the Missionaries. Here they passed the first winter in great distress, still, however, continuing their attention to the savages, converting and healing them. They resided at Sillery four years, after which, owing to the frequent incursions of the Iroquois, they were obliged to return to Quebec,—where they resided in a small house on the river side, lent to them by the Governor—and resumed their building on the present site of the Hospital. They were at this time seven in number.

“As soon as a portion of this first building, which stood upon the site of the present Hotel-Dieu, was covered in, the *Hospitalières* took possession; and personally aided the workmen in completing it by their manual labor. Their chapel was consecrated on the 16th March, 1646, an occasion of great joy to the little community, which consisted at this time of only five professed nuns, a chaplain, four boarders, a female domestic, and seven laboring men. During this year, they successively administered relief to forty-six natives of France, and one hundred and twenty savages, some of whom remained five and six months in the hospital. They had moreover

under their constant protection a wigwam of ten savages, whom they maintained all the year round.

"It appears by a bargain made by these nuns for the clearance of the ground about the Hotel-Dieu, that one hundred and fifty *livres* per arpent, equal to six pounds five shillings, Halifax currency, was the common price at this time for the performance of such work.

"At this period they had acquired, partly by purchase and partly by concession, the farm of St. Sauveur : having sold their lands at Sillery to M. D'Auteuil. They also received a gift of the fief St. Ignace, half a league in front by six in depth, from M. Giffard, Seigneur of Beauport, as a dowry for his daughter, who took the veil in 1648. The dread of the Iroquois, however, prevented the settlement of this Seigniory until the year 1662.

"Three nuns having arrived from France in 1648, the number of these devoted ladies was increased to nine. About this time a number of families came out from France to settle in Quebec ; and to these, the kindness and attention of the *Hospitalières* were found of signal benefit immediately after their arrival.

"In 1649, after the utter destruction by the Iroquois of two Huron Villages, called St. Joseph and St. Ignace, and the cruel death of Father de Brebœuf and Gabriel Lallemant, the Missionaries, the unfortunate Hurons—broken hearted, and utterly unable to bear up against the incessant attacks of their hereditary enemies—or rather, the sad remains of that once powerful and interesting people, took refuge near Quebec, where they were kindly received and hospitably treated by the *Hospitalières* and the

Jesuits. The descendants of these Huron refugees are now to be found in the village of Indian Lorette—presenting a striking and melancholy contrast with their former power and condition, when they stepped as lords of the soil over the magnificent country which borders the waters of Lake Huron. Relative to the massacre of St. Joseph and St. Ignace, there is a picture at present in the Chaplain's room of the Hotel-Dieu, which derives its interest from its subject, the dreadful death of the Missionaries, and the torture to which they were exposed by the refined cruelty of the Iroquois.

“The first Hospital, being built of wood, and only fourteen feet wide, was soon found too limited for the accommodation of the numerous applicants. By great exertions, and by the donations of generous individuals both in the colony and in France, the *Hospitalières* were enabled to build another, more commodious in dimension, and far more solid in construction. The first stone was laid on the 15th October, 1654, by Mr. De Lauzon, the Governor, in presence of the Clergy and principal inhabitants. The new buildings which consisted of an Hospital, now the female ward, a choir, and a Church were finished in 1658, and the latter was consecrated by the Abbé de Quélus, Grand Vicaire, on the 10th August. Mass was first celebrated on the 15th of the same month.

“The weakness of the Colony, and the defenceless state of Quebec in 1660, may be imagined from the fact, that such was the dread inspired by the Iroquois, who hovered around to the number of seven hundred warriors, that it was not considered safe

for the *Hospitalières* and the Ursulines to remain in their respective convents during the night. They accordingly removed every evening to the Jesuits' college, where apartments were assigned to them. Patroles were established at night to protect the city, which, but for these precautions, would have assuredly been fired by their daring and implacable assailants. This state of alarm continued for three weeks; when the Iroquois made a simultaneous attack on all the posts between Three Rivers and Quebec, killing no less than eighty French, and a great number of Algonquins and Hurons. They established themselves in the Isle of Orleans, whence M. De Lauzon, son of the former governor of that name, lost his own valuable life, and the lives of his followers, in vainly attempting to dislodge them. Satisfied with their triumph, they at length retired, leaving Quebec once more to repose; and restoring the nuns to their accustomed charitable duties.

"In 1672, the Colony had acquired sufficient strength to ensure its security from the Iroquois; and as many settlers come out each spring, the wants of an increasing population rendered the augmentation of the Hotel-Dieu again necessary; and under the liberal patronage of M. Talon, the Intendant, who may be called the Pericles of Quebec, another ward and an additional wing were undertaken, the first stone of which was laid on the 5th May 1672, in the presence of the Bishop, and other dignitaries. On the 20th of the same month, the Intendant, in order to show the respect he entertained for the Duchess D'Aiguillon, the original founder of the Hotel-Dieu, caused a brass plate to

be inserted into the foundation stone, bearing the arms of that illustrious lady, and the following Latin inscription, written by his nephew, who is spoken of as a young man of much promise at the time:—

—EFFUSO CHRISTI SANGUINI ET
MISERICORDIÆ MATRI, SEDENTE
CLEMENTE X.

Regnante invicto, pacifico Rege Christianissimo, LUDOVICO, XIV, benedicente FRANCISCO, primo Canadensium Episcopo, et precante Virginum Hospitalarium, præside RENATA a Nativitate, complaudente Colonia universa : nec non pro singulari sua in pauperes et ægros incolas charitate, procurante illustrissimo Viro D. D. JOANNE TALON, Ærariæ, Juri, ac toti Politicæ Rei, Novæ Galliæ summo Præfecto. Quod olim piè fundarat Nosocomium, aegrescente Colonia hoc novo liberaliter auget Hospitio, immortalis memoriæ et omni laudum genere Eminentissimi Ducis Cardinalis ARMANDI superstes, et sorore neptis dignissima, MARIA à VIGENEROT Ducissa, cui salus et gloria sempiterna Anno salutis instauratæ M.D.CLXXII.

TRANSLATED.

To the honor of the blood of CHRIST, shed for mankind, and the Mother of Mercy, in the Pontificate of CLEMENT X. in the reign of the invincible, peaceful and most Christian King LOUIS XIV, with the benediction of FRANCIS, first Bishop of the Canadians, and at the request of RENE DE LA NATIVITE, Superior of the nuns *Hospitalières*, with the applause of the whole colony, also as a mark of his peculiar affection towards the poor and the sick, and by the instrumentality of JEAN TALON, Intendant of Justice, Police and Finance in New France —The same Hospital which she had originally so piously founded, on the encrease of the Colony, was augmented by a second liberal donation, by MARIA DE VIGNEROT, Duchess D'Aiguillon, surviving niece of the immortal and most eminent Cardinal Duke Armand, to whom be health and everlasting glory. In the year of salvation MDCLXXII.

“In 1696, considerable additions were made to the buildings of the Hotel-Dieu, which with subsequent improvements gradually assumed their present appearance.

“The present edifice is a substantial and capacious building, three stories high, standing between

Palace-Gate and Hope-Gate. Its longest portion is one hundred and thirty yards, by seventeen in depth. On the north-west side, the wing is only fifty yards long, and two stories high. Every medical care and delicate attendance is here gratuitously afforded to the afflicted poor by the religious community, which consists of a superior, about thirty three nuns, two novices and a postulant. The church is simple and plain, having a few paintings which may be seen on proper application being made to the chaplain. Several are also distributed throughout the various rooms and wards. Three or four pictures are stated to be originals, and are by eminent masters: as *The Nativity*, by Stella, a French painter who died in 1661:—*The Virgin and Child*, by Coypel, who died in 1707, and *St. Bruno*, by the celebrated Eustache Le Sueur, who died in 1655. He was called the Raphael of France, and his principal work was the life of St. Bruno, in a series of twenty-two pictures preserved in the Chartreux, at Paris.”¹

From 1642 to 1646, ² the annals of Quebec are

¹ Hawkins' *Picture of Quebec*.

² “ In 1646, after the destruction by fire of the parish church, divine worship appears to have been celebrated in the house of the HUNDRED ASSOCIATES, which stood, as near as possible, on the site now occupied by the English Cathedral; there is quite a circumstantial account in the *Journal* for that year, of the march followed by the procession at the *Fête-Dieu*; also, a notice of the fire-works got up for the *fête de la Saint-Jean Baptiste*, on the 23rd June, 1646, from which year, we believe, dates the origin of the national festival. On the 17th or 18th April, 1646, the river was free of ice; the fields were sown a short time previous.

New Year's day, in 1646, was well kept up. His Excellency Governor de Montmagny, after being tendered the compliments of the season by discharges of fire-arms, called on the Jesuits. The Laird of Beauport, Robert Giffard, called also; the Nuns sent

barren of any incident of note. What with religious ceremonies, fighting or watching the ubiquitous Iroquois, the Governor had his hands full of business.

In 23rd September, 1647, the corner stone of ¹ a new parish Church, the present Cathedral or Basilica, was begun and opened for public worship nine years later, in 1656; though the first mass was said in it, on the 24th October 1650, as a propitiatory offering, for a continuance of peace with the savages, it was dedicated, by M. de Montmagny, to the Virgin, under the name of *Notre-Dame de la Paix*. As early as 1645, Mr. de Montmagny and the inhabitants had appropriated the proceeds of the sale of twelve hundred and fifty beaver skins to the building thereof. ²

The popular Governor of Quebec, Charles Huault de Montmagny, received, in 1648, what, we are inclined to consider, a most acceptable gift: he was presented with the first horse imported from France.

D'Ailleboust succeeded, in 1649, to de Montmagny. That year, the extraordinary tortures inflicted on the devoted missionaries,³ Lalemant, Brebœuf, and others, and the massacre of Hurons, on the shore of

rosaries and wax candles, and what was just as acceptable for the occasion,—meat pies. The following year, amongst the gifts, *étrennes*, presented by the Governor, were,—to Father Vimont, two bottles of Spanish wine—to Father Le Jeune, four bottles of Spanish wine and two capons. On the 7th January, 1648, the brewery attached to the Jesuits residence was burnt.

¹ See, in Archives of Basilica of Quebec, *Le Livre de l'Eglise, Paroisse de Québec*, for *Acte authentique de la pose de la première pierre de la Cathédrale*.

² *Histoire de la Colonie française*, Vol. I, P. 33.

³ For particulars of the tortures of the missionaries, see *Maple Leaves*, New Series.

Lake Simcoe, spread terror and sorrow at Quebec. The dispersion of the Hurons followed: a portion of this once, powerful tribe, which had numbered 30,000 souls, sought refuge on the Island of Orleans. In 1650, we find 400 of them huddled in the city, at the entrance of the Hôtel-Dieu. A few years later, in 1658, terror stricken, they obtained leave to pitch their tents under the guns of Fort St. Louis, in the *Grande Place* (the Ring). From thence, they emigrated, in 1667, to St. Foye. In 1693, they settled at *Ancienne Lorette*; in 1700, they emigrated to *Jeune* or Indian Lorette, where their descendants exist to this day.

From 1650 to 1660, Indian alarms were frequent at Quebec, and in its environs. "In the summer of 1653, all Canada," says Parkman, "turned to fasting and penance, processions, vows, and supplications. The saints and the Virgin were beset with unceasing prayer. The wretched little colony was like some puny garrison, starving and sick, compassed with inveterate foes, supplies cut off, and succor hopeless. Quebec was least exposed to Indian attacks, being partially covered by Montreal and Three Rivers. Nevertheless, there was no safety this year, even under the canon of Fort St. Louis. At Cap Rouge, a few miles above, the Jesuit Poncet saw a poor woman who had a patch of corn beside her cabin, but could find no body to harvest it. The father went to seek aid, met one Mathurin Franchetot, whom he persuaded to undertake the charitable task, and was returning with him, when they both fell into an ambuscade of Iroquois, who seized them and dragged them off. Thirty-two men embarked

in canoes, at Quebec, to follow the retreating savages and rescue the prisoners."

We next read of a grand indian council, being held at Quebec, probably on the *Grande Place* (the Ring) in front of the Fort. "Speeches were made and wampun belts exchanged. The Iroquois left some of their chief men as pledges of sincerity, and two young soldiers offered themselves as reciprocal pledges on the part of the French. The war was over ; at least Canada had found a moment to take breath for the next struggle. The fur trade was restored again, with promise of plenty ; for the beaver, profiting by the quarrels of their human foes, had of late greatly multiplied.

"Yesterday," writes Father Lemercier, "all was dejection and gloom ; to day, all is smiles and gayety. On Wednesday, massacre, burning, and pillage, on Thursday, gifts and visits as among friends. If the Iroquois have their hidden designs, so, too, has God."

The early dawn, on the 19th May, 1656, witnessed at the Island of Orleans, the wholesale butchery of the unfortunate Hurons. This deed of blood accomplished the forty Iroquois canoes, glided past the city, with their scalps and prisoners, shouting defiance to the terrified inmates of Fort St. Louis ; the enemy landed above and below the town, and plundered the houses from which the scared inhabitants had fled. War to day,—to morrow a truce—or council—perhaps, amongst these savages, one of these abominable carnivals of gluttony a "medecine" or mystic feast, in which it was expected the guests would devour everything set before them, "however, inordinate in quantity, unless absolved from duty

by the person, in whose behalf the solemnity was ordained ; he, on his part, taking no share in the banquet. So grave was the obligation, and so strenuously did the guest fulfil it " that this benevolent gluttony sometimes ended in death : this banqueting was called "*festin à manger tout*."

In July 1658, Mr. d'Argenson, the new Governor, arrived. " As soon, says the *Relations* of 1658, as d'Argenson's ship cast anchor off Quebec, d'Ailleboust went on board to pay his respects, leaving all the male inhabitants of the city under arms on the banks of the river. The new Governor, then landed, having sent before him his secretary with Mr. d'Ailleboust, to deliver his acknowledgments to the people. Placing himself at their head, d'Ailleboust conducted d'Argenson to the Fort or Castle St. Louis, all marching in good order. There the keys of the Fort were handed over, while the cannon on the ramparts and on board the vessels fired a salute, which resounded over the waters and forests. The Governor, then, after taking formal possession of the Castel, paid visits to the Parish Church, the Chapel of the Jesuits, the Hospital and the House of the Ursulines. On the next day, when sitting down to dinner with his invited guests, was heard the cry " To arms ! " and all rushed out to hunt the lurking Iroquois, but the forest shielded the ferocious savages. " The *Relation* of 1660 graphically describes the dreaded enemy : " The Iroquois interrupt all our joys, and are the great evil of New France... The Iroquois warriors are so crafty in their approach, so sudden in their attack, and so prompt in their retreat, that ordinarily their departure gives the first intelligence of their coming.

They approach like foxes, attack like lions, and then fly like birds, disappearing more swiftly than they came. What would be more easy than one general surprise, and, killing all our men in a single day to carry off the women and children into captivity? Even with superior numbers we dare not follow them into the forests. It is a sort of miracle that they have not already destroyed us, seeing how easy for them that would be. Last spring, the alarm was such that the houses in the country were all abandoned, and all the people crowding into Quebec, gave themselves up for lost".....

For half a century, the *Fleur-de-Lis*, had with but one interruption waived over the lofty ridges of Stadacona. France had a stronghold in the western hemisphere—Fort St. Louis; its cannon had more than once proclaimed to the countless tribes of the wilderness—the pleasure of Ononthio¹—peace or war. Quebec was the seat of learning,—it had a college;—the bulwark of the Roman Catholic faith—it had its churches—its convents—its monasteries—its missionaries spread from Tadoussac to Florida. Quebec had much to be proud of—but one link, in the structure was deficient: it lacked a religious head—a general to guide her devoted soldiers of the cross. So thought the superior of the Jesuits, Father Le Jeune. The active measures he adopted, when in France, and the influence of the Queen Mother, Anne of Austria, resulted in the selection of a spiritual head for Canada.

¹ Ononthio meant in the Indian idiom: the Great Mountain—thus they designated the French Governor.

The Pope, presented to the French King, François-Xavier de Laval-Montmorency—abbé de Montigny and Bishop of Petræa, *in partibus*, as apostolical vicar.¹ In the veins of the first Canada Bishop, coursed the proud blood of a Montmorency, connected with royalty itself. The name of Laval, the "*holy prelate*," as some called him, sounds like music to the ears of many Quebecers. He, it was, who founded the flourishing seminary of the *Foreign Missions*. The great University of which the Province is proud, rejoices in his name—the Laval University. He was the first Canadian Bishop; to him the Roman Catholic clergy owe their present independent constitution. His will was the supreme rule. Still impartial history must connect his name with many unseemly religious and civil beckerings. His domineering spirit has been unsparingly rebuked by Roman Catholic writers, some of them churchmen like himself. The historian Garneau, was outspoken on the subject, and the learned abbé Faillon has censured in no measured terms, many acts of the Bishop of Petræa. In his uncompromising hostility to the introduction of "fire water" amongst the Indians, he must certainly be upheld, but his domineering manner, towards four successive governors—d'Argenson,—d'Avaugour,—Mesy and Frontenac, whom by his influence, at Court, he managed either to disgust with their governments or to have recalled, and the tyrannical² mode he adopted to

¹ Born, at Laval, in the diocèse of Chartres, 30th April, 1623. He landed at Quebec, on the 6th June, 1659, died 1708.

² According to Belmont and abbé Allet, in virtue of a *Lettre de cachet*, obtained from the King, the abbé de Queylus was brought

remove from Canada, his sturdy rival, the abbé de Queylus, are matters of history, which all the panegyrists in the world will fail to obliterate.

Not only have protestant writers, such as Parkman, censured freely, the shortcomings of the great Churchman, Roman Catholic authors, of the highest authority, have been loud in their denunciations—none more so, than the learned historian, the *abbé* Faillon. For all that, the name of Laval will long endure, as a symbol, a banner, to those who seek to promote religion by subordinating the state to the church.

A very melancholy incident occurred on the 22nd June, 1661. Seven brave men,—among whom the Governor's son—Jean de Lauzon, Grand Senechal of Canada, who had sailed down the river, in a boat, to meet his fellow sportsman, Couillard de Lepinay, then on a hunting expedition, amongst the Islands adjacent to the Island of Orleans—came to a cruel, a most untimely end. Having run his boat aground, in the *rivière à Maheux*, on the Island of Orleans, young de Lauzon, and his companions, were attacked by some eighty Iroquois, ambuscaded in an adjoining house. Though the Quebec Nimrods fought like lions, they were butchered to the last man.

Let us pass over minor events to narrate the particular of the great earthquake which for five months convulsed all Canada. We are indebted for the translation, to a valued friend, alas! no more, the late Geo. Coventry, of Cobourg:

down by a squad of soldiers from Montreal and shipped to France. (See *Histoire de la Colonie française au Canada*. Faillon, Vol. II, P. 346.)

" More than two centuries ago, says he, a remarkable earthquake took place in Canada, which appears to have lasted off and on, for six months. At that period, the country was but little known except to the French settlers; consequently, there is no European account of it.

A Journal was kept by the Jesuits, at Quebec, which has been carefully preserved, and in 1858, it was first printed and made known to the public.

On reference to the catalogue of Earthquakes that have occurred at different periods of the world, we find that during the same year, an awful one occurred in China, when 300,000 persons were buried alive in Pekin, alone. That city is six degrees further South than Quebec, but it is far from improbable that its ramifications extended to both places, only far less severe in Canada, in as much as there is no record of any lives being lost.

In neither country has the science of Geology been carried out or we should have some data to go by, to show the various changes of the Earth's surface. As far as Canada is concerned, we are certain that very great changes took place. Mountains became valleys and *vice versa*; rivers were dried up and diverted into another channel; whole forests were submerged and mountains appeared where there were none before, - thus in a few months changes took place, that according to Lyell's theory would have taken thousands of years to effect. Father Lalemant transmitted the account of the earthquake to head quarters, in Paris. He commences the account by stating that for a long time there had been signs in the Heavens, and signs on the earth.

Last Autumn, says our narrator, fiery serpents were seen in the air,—then mellow, melodious voices; near Quebec, a large globe of fire was visible, which turned night into day; a meteor also was seen at Montreal of brilliant form, it appeared to issue from the moon, with a voice like thunder, or roaring of cannon, and darting eight or ten miles through the air, disappeared behind the mountain.

But the most extraordinary scene of all was three distinct suns. It was a beautiful morning in winter about 8 o'clock; a light vapour arose from the earth, which reflected the rising sun; they were all three in a direct line,—the true sun in the centre, and the reflected ones, one on either side. This beautiful phenomena lasted about two hours, and happened the 7th of January, 1663. On the 14th the same thing occurred again, but not quite so brilliant as the former one. There was nearly a total eclipse of the sun on the first of September 1663; it commenced 1h. 24m. 42 seconds, and finished 3h. 52m, 44 seconds, the Earthquake then ceased "

Father Lallemant's Journal.

" It was on the 5th of February 1663, at half-past five o'clock in the evening, that a tremendous noise caused by an earthquake was heard through out the whole of Canada.

" This noise indicated that some houses were on fire, instead of which, people rushed into the streets to avoid being crushed by the walls falling, which were violently disturbed and agitated, rocking backwards and forwards. The bells commenced ringing of themselves—the timbers, rafters and

planks cracked and split. The earth appeared to heave upwards and the palisades rose up and down to the astonishment of all who witnessed it.

“Every one left their dwellings in amaze. Animals took to flight. Children were crying in the streets. Men and women lost in astonishment did not know where to flee for safety, expecting to be buried alive, either under buildings or some deep abyss, that yawned around them. Some might be seen in the snow, on their knees imploring for mercy; others passed all night in prayer, because the earth shook violently, similar to the motion of vessels on a tempestuous sea, and caused an incredible sickness and qualmishness worse than sea-sickness.

“The general confusion and disorder was worse in the forests: it seemed as if the trees were at war with each other, not only the branches, but the trunks moved from one place to the other, with such force and confusion, that the Indians remarked they acted like drunken or mad men. The mountains, also, were at war with each other—they removed from their locations, leaving deep ravines and abysses into which immense trees plunged, presenting the roots upwards. During this general commotion, lumps of ice from five to six feet in thickness were thrown into the air and dispersed in fragments. A black smoke ascended into the air from the ice holes, which gave a singular appearance to everything around. The springs were dried up, leaving behind a sort of debris of fetid odor; rivers disappeared—others corrupted and changed color, either red or yellow, and the mighty river St. Lawrence was perfectly white as far as Tadoussac on the one hand,

and the Island of Orleans on the other—an extraordinary prodigy when we consider the vast extent of water in that distance. Neither was the air exempt from those visible changes, for spectres were seen carrying flambeaux in their hands, to the terror of the habitants. Pikes and fiery lances darted through the atmosphere—flaming brands also around our houses, which did no further harm than terrify the inmates. During the dead silence of night, there was moaning and lamentation all around, as if proceeding from disturbed spirits in the air.

“ In the vicinity of Three Rivers, the *marsovin* or Sea-Cow rent the air, with their piercing, pitiable cries.—Those animals were so rarely seen, that it was a cause of the greatest wonder and surprise. During the intensity of the shock, the pillars of the monastery cloister shook and danced up and down in the court yard. Two doors in our apartment acted strangely, alternately opening and shutting. The high chimnies rocked about like the waving of trees; when we raised our feet to walk, it appeared the earth followed, as if elastic.

“ They write us from Three Rivers, that the first shock, the most violent of all, began by a rumbling noise resembling thunder. The houses having a tremulous motion like leaves of trees in a storm, and a rushing noise like the crackling of a huge fire. This lasted about half an hour, though the greatest violence was only quarter of an hour. Every one imagined that the earth would yawn and open to the very centre. The shocks were irregular, sometimes like a noble vessel at anchor in a moderate sea, which greatly affected the head, then again the agitation increased and died away.

“ According to the reports of various inhabitants and Indians, who were eye-witnesses to many singular scenes, being at Three Rivers, five or six leagues from hence, the shores and hills bordering the river on both sides and which were of a prodigious height, were rent and torn from their foundations close to the water.

“ Two mountains with the surrounding forests having been overthrown into the river, formed a powerful dam, causing the river to alter its course and to rush over some low lands in the vicinity, lately discovered. A new channel was soon formed of muddy water which swept all before it with prodigious force and also changed the color of the mighty river St. Lawrence.

“ You may easily judge of the immense quantity of earth that was washed away, by its continuance for three months to alter the appearance of the stream.—

“ New lakes were formed, where none existed before. Mountains that were swallowed up were never seen again; rapids disappeared in the melee; many rivers were no longer visible; the earth yawned in divers place and opened frightful cavities which seemed to have no bottom. There was such awful confusion and sudden changes of the earth's surface, that thousands of acres of level lands now appear ready for the husbandman, that a short time before were mountainous and clothed with dense forests. We have information from Tadoussac, that the effects of the earthquake were as devastating as in other localities; that ashes fell in large quantities like rain, that settled on the rivers surface as if disturbed by a violent storm and which followed the

course of the river as far down as Cape Tourmente, which had a singular effect on the shore and borders of the currents.

“ Towards St. Paul’s Bay, there was a small mountain situated near the river, about a mile to compass it ; it suddenly fell into the river, forming a small Island which ultimately gave great protection from the winds, as it formed a snug little bay.

“ Lower down the river, towards Pointe-aux-Alouettes, a whole forest became detached from the main-land, gliding into the river where it took firm hold at the bottom and still sends forth its verdant leaves in the summer.

“ Independent of the above facts, three circumstances contribute to render this earthquake very remarkable :

“ The first is the length of time that it lasted, having continued to the month of August, a period of six months.

“ It is true that the shocks were not equally violent. In certain places, towards the mountains which we have mentioned, the trembling and rumbling noises continued for a long period. Towards Tadoussac, the shocks were of great violence, two or three times a day, almost constantly.—In high grounds, the motion was far less than on the low plains.

“ The second circumstance is, the extent of this earthquake, which we have every reason to believe was universal throughout the whole of Canada, for we are credibly informed that it was felt as far north-east as Perce’ Roc and Gaspé, which are at the mouth of the great river St. Lawrence, all the way to the vicinity of Montreal, likewise in New

England and Acadia, and other places still more remote. We may, therefore, conclude that sixty thousand miles superficial, were agitated and in motion at the same moment and on the same day of its commencement, in February.

“ The third circumstance is, regarding the wonderful protection which God bestowed upon our habitations, for we behold near to us the immense chasms and openings in the earth, and a prodigious extent of country totally lost, without having missed a single child, not even a hair of our heads injured; we see around us mountains overthrown and immense ruin and destruction, our road demolished and hills swallowed up in the earth.

“ Therefore, we have abundant cause of thankfulness to Heaven for our protection. We are informed by a reliable person of irreproachable life, that she had strong presentiments of what was about to happen, and who declared that she spiritually saw four fearful spectres in the air, at the four points of the compass, around Quebec. Their object apparently was the total destruction of Quebec, but a guardian angel interfered and thus preserved many precious lives to testify of God's goodness and mercy.”

CHAPTER III.

1663—1713.

QUEBEC—DEFIANT—AGGRESSIVE.

A ROYAL GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED, 1663. — HERESY. — WITCHCRAFT. — INFLUENZA. — THE FIRST BALL AT QUEBEC. — QUEBEC, A BISHOPRIC, 1674. — PHIPPS REPULSED, 1690. — CONFLAGRATION OF THE SEMINARY, 1701. — RAIDS ON THE NEW ENGLAND SETTLEMENTS, 1690. — DEATH OF BISHOP LAVAL, 1708. — DISPERSION OF SIR HOVENDEN WALKER'S ARMADA, 1711.

"*Ononthio, Ononthio, ho, ho, Squenon, Squenon*, our father, our father. Peace! Oh! Give us Peace!" Such, says La Potherie, were the frantic exclamations kept up for near a mile, by forty Iroquois, marching up Mountain Hill, towards Fort St. Louis, (on the 31st August?) in 1666, shortly before the departure of the warlike Marquis de Tracy, to sac and burn the Mohawk villages, near Orange; distance had already failed to shield them from French vengeance. What a cheering sight this deputation of screeching, naked, tatoed Cannibals¹ must have presented, in their

¹ Instances of their fondness for human flesh are too numerous, for the point to require further corroboration. Enemies, taken in battle, were occasionally eaten. A lad left at Gaspé, by the French, to study the Indian dialect, was found to have been gobbled up, though he was not an enemy. The Sulpician Vignal was captured, tortured and devoured, at La Prairie de la Magdeleine, near Montreal in 1661, by the Iroquois.

perambulations through our streets and squares, during the dog days of 1666 ? In these ejaculations of fear, this unceasing prayer of the vanquished to the victor, is summed up all a period—that era of aggressive, defiant warfare, inaugurated by the dashing Carignan regiment—followed up by sturdy old Frontenac—culminating in the midnight raids and bloody massacres of Schenectady, Deerfield and Haverhill, in the very heart of the neighboring New England and Dutch colonies. New France had, indeed, become a terror to New England. In those days, Quebecers carried a proud head, whether soldiers like Ste. Helene and Maricourt, explorers like Joliet and Lasalle, administrators like Tracy and Frontenac.

The first link in this new chain of events, was doubtless the creation, by Louis XIV, of a Royal Government, for the colony in 1663 : the earnest prayers for reform carried to the foot of the throne by d'Avangour—Laval—Boucher—and even by his great Minister of Finance, Colbert, had been heard at last. Under the weak and faithless hand of the Company of the Hundred-Associates, Indian alarms and domestic strife had become intolerable. Majesty itself would now take up the cause of mis-ruled Quebec. The attention of the youthful Monarch had turned towards the colony ever since 1659.

Amongst other ameliorations, we notice in a plan of the city for 1664, a most elaborate system of fortifications, projected for the place.

Having suppressed the Company, "the King," says Miles, "determined to constitute Canada, a Royal Government, under the control of a Supreme Coun-

cil, like the Parliament of Paris, the principal functionaries of which should be appointed by the King and be immediately responsible to him. There had already existed, a species of Council for advising with the Governor, consisting of the chief officials and such of the principal inhabitants as he might choose to summon, but up to the year 1663, the Governor, himself although in his military capacity, a King's officer, was virtually the head agent of the Company, for administering their affairs in the colony and appointed by the King, on their request or nomination. Now, the King was implored to resume to himself all control and it was decided to relieve the colony altogether from that of the company (which had decreased to forty-five members.)"

On the 15th September 1663, the principal functionaries who were to govern Canada, under the new regime, landed at Quebec, M. de Mesy, the new Governor, Laval, vicar apostolic, and a royal commissioner, M. Gaudias; they were accompanied by a number of military and law officers, some soldiers and several hundred new settlers, bringing animals and implements of husbandry.

"When Tracy," says Parkman, "set sail he found no lack of followers. A throng of young nobles embarked with him, eager to explore the marvels and mysteries of the western world. The King gave him two hundred soldiers of the regiment of Carignan-Salières, and promised that a thousand more should follow. After spending more than a year in the West Indies.....he, at length sailed up the St. Lawrence, and, on the 30th of June 1665, anchored in the bassin of Quebec. The broad white standard

blazoned with the arms of France, proclaimed the representative of royalty; and Point Levi and Cape Diamond and the distant Cape Tourmente roared back the sound of the saluting cannon. All Quebec was on the ramparts or at the landing-place, and all eyes were strained at the two vessels, as they slowly emptied their crowded decks into the boats along side. The boats at length drew near, and the lieutenant-general and his suite, landed on the quay with a pomp such as Quebec had never seen before.”¹

Tracy was a veteran of sixty two, portly and tall “one of the largest men I ever saw” writes Marie de l’Incarnation; but he was sallow with disease for fever had seized him, and it had fared-ill with him on the long voyage. The Chevalier de Chaumont walked at his side, and young nobles surrounded him, gorgeous in lace and ribbons and majestic in leonine wigs. Twenty four guards in the King’s livery led the way, followed by four pages and six valets (“such was his constant attendance when he was abroad” say Mère Juchereau) and thus, while Frenchmen shouted and the Indians stared, the august procession threaded the streets of the lower-town, and climbed the steep pathway that scaled the cliffs above. Breathing hard, they reached the top, passed on the left the dilapidated walls of the fort and the shed of mingled wood and masonry, which then bore the name of the Castle of St. Louis; passed on the right the old house of Couillard and the site of Laval’s new seminary, and soon reached the square betwixt the Jesuit college and the cathedral.

¹ Parkman, *Old Regime*, p. 177.

The bells were ringing in a frenzy of welcome. Laval in pontificals, surrounded by priests and Jesuits, stood waiting to receive the deputy of the King; and as he greeted Tracy and offered him the holy water, he looked with anxious curiosity to see what manner of man he was. The signs were auspicious. The deportment of the lieutenant-general left nothing to desire. *À prie-dieu* had been placed for him. He declined it. They offered him a cushion, but he would not have it; and fevered as he was, he knelt on the bare pavement with a devotion that edified every beholder. *Te Deum* was sung, and a day of rejoicing followed.....

Louis XIV was resolved that a New France should be added to the Old. Soldiers, settlers,¹ horses, sheep, cattle, young women for wives, were all sent in abundance by his paternal benignity. Before the season was over, about two thousand persons had landed at Quebec, at the royal charge.

"At length," writes Mother Juchereau, "our joy was completed by the arrival of two vessels with Monsieur de Courcelle, our Governor; Monsieur Talon, our intendant, and the last companies of the regiment of Carignan." More state and splendor, more young nobles, more guards and valets: for Courcelle, too, says the same chronicle, "had a superb train; and Monsieur Talon, who naturally loves glory, forgot nothing which could do honor to the King".....

"Carignan-Salières was the first regiment of regular troops ever sent to America, by the French

¹ See *Mykle Leves*, New Series, page 271. "OUR NATIONALITY—ITS COMPONENT PARTS."

government. It was raised in Savoy, by the Prince of Carignan, in 1644, but was soon employed in the service of France; where in 1652, it took a conspicuous part on the side of the King, in the battle with Condé and the Fronde, at the Porte St. Antoine. After the peace of the Pyrénées, the Prince of Carignan, unable to support the regiment, gave it to the King, and it was, for the first time, incorporated into the French armies. In 1664, it distinguished itself, as part of the allied force of France, in the Austrian war, against the Turks. In the next year, it was ordered to America, along with the fragment of a regiment formed of Germans, the whole being placed under the command of Colonel de Salières. Hence its double name. Fifteen heretics were discovered in its ranks, and quickly converted."

The officers of this famous regiment many of whom were connected with the French noblesse, married in the colony, and became the progenitors of several of the Canadian families of mark, existing to this day. The men of most note in the regiment were: Col Salières, Capts. Chambly, Sorel, Du Gué, Saint Ours, Berthier, de Contrecoeur, La Valtrie, De Meloises,— Lieuts. De la Pérade, De la Fouille, Maximin, Lobiau, Petit, Rougemont, Traversy, De la Mothe, La Combe, De Verchères, &c.

The French in 1665, and years following, having by the expeditions they undertook, curbed the insolence of the Iroquois, built, in 1666, the three Forts, Sorel, Chambly and Ste. Thérèse.

The persecuted Hurons, in 1667, taking cheer, left their fort on Mountain Hill, to settle at Ste.

Foye, whilst the wise Intendant Talon, favored to its utmost commerce in the colony.

In 1672, Louis de Buade, Count de Frontenac, who had served thirty years in the French armies, was named Governor of Quebec, instead of Courcelle recalled; the Marquis de Tracy, having achieved the object of his mission, had taken his departure for France, in the autumn of 1667.

The journal of the Superior of the Jesuits, records, under date 4th February 1667, the first ball in Canada, along with the pious wish. "Good grant that nothing further come of it." "Nevertheless, more balls were not long in following; and worse yet," as Parkman observes, "sundry comedies were enacted under no less distinguished patronage than that of Frontenac, the Governor. Bishop Laval denounced them vigourously; the Jesuit Dablon, attacked them in a violent sermon; and such excitement followed that the affair was brought before the Royal council, which declined to interfere. This flurry, however, was nothing to the storm raised," when Frontenac insisted in spite of the Bishop, in having some dramas enacted at the Hôtel-Dieu. Molière's *TARTUFFE* was represented first at the *Château St. Louis*; the actors and actresses were next introduced by the Governor's direction, in the religious houses, at the Jesuit's college,—in the Ursulines convent, where the *communauté* was assembled to witness the performance—in the *Salle des pauvres*, at the Hôtel-Dieu." The priests of the seminary, by their representations, managed to escape the infliction of the old Governor's whimsical fancy, for the legitimate drama.

Quebec *belles*, must also have appeared rather

straightlaced and proper," if they surrendered to the vehement denunciations of Bishops Laval and Saint Vallier, their gorgeous head dresses and those seductive knots of ribbons, called Fontanges (after a famed but not chaste French beauty) with which they ensnared admirers."

Varied, indeed, were the tribulations under which our worthy sires groaned, in the city, in its rude beginnings. In addition to the Iroquois, there were Witchcraft and Influenza, according to well-informed writers. Quebec was saved the horrors of a Saint Bartholomew, if we credit Denonville, because there was not a heretic there in 1686.

"If Canada," says Parkman, "escaped the dragonnades, so also she escaped another infliction from which a neighboring colony (Boston) suffered deplorably. Her peace was never much troubled by witches. They were held to exist, it is true; but they wrought no panic. Mother Mary, of the Incarnation, (*Mère de l'Incarnation*), reports on one occasion the discovery of a magician, in the person of a converted Huguenot miller, who, being refused in marriage by a girl of Quebec, bewitched her, and filled the house where she lived with demons, which the Bishop tried in vain to exorcise. The miller was thrown into prison, and the girl sent to the Hôtel-Dieu, where not a demon dared enter. The infernal crew took their revenge by creating a severe influenza among the citizens."¹

"In one respect," says Parkman, "this Canadian Church militant achieved a complete success. Heresy was scourged out of the colony. When (Madame)

¹ *Lettre de Marie de l'Incarnation, Sept., 1661.—Old Regime, p. 355*

Maintenon and her ghostly prompters overcame the better nature of the King, and wrought on his bigotry and vanity, to launch him into the dragonnades; when violence and lust bore the crucifix into thousands of Huguenot homes, and the land reeked with nameless infamies; when Churches rang with *Te Deums*, and the heart of France withered in anguish; when, in short, this hideous triumph of the faith was won, the royal tool of..... sent orders that heresy should be treated in Canada, as it had been treated in France.¹ The orders were needless. The pious Denonville replies "Praised be God, there is not a heretic here!" He adds that a few abjured last year, and that he should be very glad if the King would make them a present. The Jesuits, he further says, go every day on board the ship in the harbor to look after the new converts from France.² Now and then, at a later day, a real or suspected Jansenist found his way to Canada, and sometimes an *esprit fort*, like La Hontan, came over with the troops; but on the whole a community, more free from positive heterodoxy, perhaps never existed on earth. This exemption cost no bloodshed. What it did cost we may better judge hereafter."³

"In 1671, the council issued a curious decree. One Paul Dupuy, had been heard to say that there is nothing like righting one's self, and that when the English cut off the head of Charles I, they did a

¹ *Mémoire instructif, contenant la conduite des PP. Récollets de Paris en leurs missions de Canada*, 1684.

² *Mémoire du Roy a Denonville*, 31 Mai, 1686.

The King here orders the imprisonment of heretics who refuse to abjure, or the quartering of soldiers on them. What this is, the history of the dragonnades will show.—(Parkman.)

³ *Old Regime*, p. 354.

good thing, with other discourses of the like effect. The council declared him guilty of speaking ill of royalty, in the person of the King of England, and uttering words tending to sedition. He was condemned to be dragged from prison by the public executioner, and led in his shirt, with a rope about his neck, and a torch in his hand, to the gate of the Chateau St. Louis, there to beg pardon of the King; thence, to the pillory of the lower-town to be branded with a *fleur-de-lis* on the cheek, and set in the stocks for half an hour; then to be led back to prison, and put in irons "till the information against him shall be completed."¹

"Lent was rigidly enforced in 1676, judging from Police Reports. "Louis Gaboury, an inhabitant of the Island of Orleans, charged with eating meat in Lent without asking leave of the priest, was condemned by the local judge to be tied three hours to a stake in public and then led to the door of the chapel, to ask pardon of God and the King. The culprit appealed to the council, which revoked the sentence and imposed only a fine."²

"The due subordination of households had its share of attention. Servants who deserted their masters were to be set in the pillory for the first offence, and whipped and branded for the second, while any person harboring them was to pay a fine of twenty francs. Condemned murderers and felons were occasionally tortured before being strangled; and the dead body, enclosed in an iron cage, was left hanging for months

¹ *Jugements et Délibérations du Conseil Supérieur.*

² Doutre et Lareau—*Histoire du Droit Canadien*, P. 163. *Old Régime*, P. 281-3.

at the top of Cape Diamond. Yet on the whole Canadian justice tried by the standard of the time, was neither vindictive nor cruel.”¹

Mr. Marmette, the novelist, has sketched very graphically, a noted publican, who held out on the upper-town square, in 1648—Jean Boisdon. “He is required to establish himself on the great square of Quebec, close to the church, so that the parishioners may conveniently warm and refresh themselves between the services; but he is forbidden to entertain anybody during high mass, sermon, catechism or vespers. Matters soon changed; Jean Boisdon lost his monopoly, and inns sprang up on all hands. They did not want for patrons, and we find some of their proprietors mentioned as among the few thriving men in Canada. Talon tried to regulate them, and among other rules, ordained that no inn-keeper should furnish food or drink to any hired laborer whatever, or to any person residing in the place where his inn was situated. An inn-keeper of Montreal, was fined for allowing the syndic of the town to dine under his roof.”²

“One obtains glimpses of the pristine state of Quebec, through the early police regulations. Each inhabitant was required to make a gutter along the middle of the street before his house, and also to remove refuse and throw it into the river. All dogs, without exception, were ordered home at nine o'clock. On Tuesdays and Fridays, there was a market in the public square, whither the neighboring *habitants*, male and female, brought their produce for sale, as

¹ *Old Régime* P. 381-3.

² Faillon. *Histoire de la Colonie française*, III, P. 405.

they still continue to do. Smoking in the street was forbidden, as a precaution against fire; householders were required to provide themselves with ladders, and when the fire-alarm was rung, all able-bodied persons were obliged to run to the scene of danger with buckets or kettles full of water.¹ This did not prevent the lower-town from burning to the ground in 1682. It was soon rebuilt, but a repetition of the catastrophe seemed very likely. "This place," says Denonville, "is in a fearful state as regards fire; for the houses are crowded together out of all reason, and so surrounded with piles of cord-wood that it is pitiful to see."² Add to this the stores of hay for the cows, kept by many of the inhabitants, for the benefit of their swarming progeny. The houses were at this time low, compact buildings, with gables of masonry, as required by law; but many had wooden fronts, and all had roofs covered with cedar shingles. The anxious Governor begs that, as the town has not a *sou* of revenue, His Majesty, will be pleased to make it the gift of two hundred crowns worth of leather fire-buckets.³ Six or seven years after, certain citizens were authorized by the council, to import from France, at their own cost, "a pump after the Dutch fashion, for throwing water on houses, in case of fire."⁴ How a fire was managed at Quebec, appears from a letter of the engineer, Vasseur, describing the burning of Laval's Seminary in 1701. Vasseur was then at Quebec, directing the new fortifications. On

¹ *Règlement de Police*, 1672. Ibid, 1676.

² *Denonville au Ministre*, 20 août 1685.

³ *Denonville au Ministre*, 20 août, 1685.

⁴ *Règlement de 1691*. Extract in Ferland.

a Monday, in November, all the pupils of the seminary and most of the priests went, according to their weekly custom, to recreate themselves at a house and garden, at St. Michel, a short distance from town. The few priests who remained went after dinner to say vespers at the church. Only one, Father Petit, was left in the seminary and he presently repaired to the great hall to rekindle the fire in the stove and to warm the place against the return of his brethren. His success surpassed his wishes. A fire brand snapped out in his absence and set the pine floor in a blaze. Father Boucher, Curé at Point Levis, chanced to come in, and was half choked by the smoke. He cried fire ! the servants ran for water ; but the flames soon mastered them : they screamed the alarm, and the bells began to ring. Vasseur was dining with the Intendant, at his palace, by the St. Charles, when he heard a frightened voice crying out, " Monsieur, you are wanted ; you are wanted." He sprang from the table, saw the smoke rolling in volumes from the top of the rock, ran up the steep ascent, reached the seminary, and found an excited crowd making a prodigious out-cry. He shouted for carpenters. Four men came to him, and he set them at work with such tools as they had to tear away planks and beams, and prevent the fire from spreading to the adjacent parts of the building ; but when he went to find others to help them, they ran off. He set new men in their place, and they too ran off the moment his back was turned.

A cry was raised that the building was to be blown up, on which the crowd scattered for their lives. Vasseur now gave up the seminary for lost,

and thought only of cutting off the fire from the rear of the Church, which was not far distant. In this he succeeded, by tearing down an intervening wing or gallery. The walls of the burning building were of massive stone, and by seven o'clock the fire had spent itself. We hear nothing of the Dutch pump, nor does it appear that the soldiers of the garrison made any effort to keep order. Under cover of the confusion, property was stolen from the seminary, to the amount of about two thousand livres, which is remarkable, considering the religious character of the building, and the supposed piety of the people.

"August, September and October were the busy months at Quebec. Then the ships from France discharged their lading, the shops and warehouses of the lower-town were filled with goods, and the *habitants* came to town to make their purchases. When the frosts began, the vessels sailed away, the harbor was deserted, the streets were silent again, and like ants or squirrels the people set at work to lay in their winter stores. Fathers of families packed their cellars with beets, carrots, potatoes and cabbages; and, at the end of autumn, with meat, fowls, game, fish and eels, all frozen to stony hardness. Most of the shops closed, and the long season of leisure and amusement began. New Year's day brought visits and mutual gifts.

"Thence till Lent dinner parties were frequent, sometimes familiar and sometimes ceremonious. The Governor's little court at the chateau, was a standing example to all the aspiring spirits of Quebec, and forms and orders of precedence were in some houses punctitiously observed. There were dinners to the

military and civic dignitaries and their wives, and others, quite distinct, to prominent citizens. The wives and daughters of the burghers of Quebec are said to have been superior in manners to women of corresponding class in France. "They have wit," says La Potherie, "delicacy, good voices, and a great fondness for dancing. They are discreet, and not much given to flirting; but when they undertake to catch a lover, it is not easy for him to escape the bands of Hymen."¹

"Next to that of the Governor General," say Hawkins, "the office of Intendant was of the greatest importance and celebrity in Quebec. It was established by the Proclamation of the King of France, in 1663, erecting the Sovereign Council for the affairs of the Colony; it consisted of the Governor General the Bishop, the Intendant, four Councillors, to be named by the preceding, with an Attorney General and chief Clerk. The number of Councillors was afterwards encreased to twelve.

"The authority of the Intendant was, indeed, little inferior to that of the Governor, except in being judicial, not executive. He had the superintendence of four departments; namely, of Justice, Police, Finance and Marine. The Intendant was declared to be President of the Sovereign Council, leaving, however, the first place to the Governor, and the second to the Bishop. This caused great displeasure to the Governor, on whose continued representations it was afterwards ordered, in 1680, that the Governor and Intendant should assume no other quality in the Council than that of their respective

¹ *Old Régime*, P. 387.

offices. La Potherie, who visited Quebec in 1698, says, that the Governor was then merely an honorary Councillor. He sat at the upper end of a round table, meaning most probably at the part farthest removed from the door. The Bishop sat on his right, also an honorary Councillor, and the Intendant on the left. The latter performed the office of president, although he had not the title. The Councillors themselves were seated according to seniority, and all wore their swords. The Intendant collected the votes, beginning with the junior Councillor, and finishing with the Governor General. He then gave his own opinion, and pronounced the judgment of the Council. In Le Beau's time, who visited Quebec in 1729, the arrangement of the seats was somewhat different. The Councillors were then twelve in number, nearly all merchants of the Lower Town. "The Intendant," he says, "claimed the right of presiding in the Council; but the Governor General took his seat in the Hall of Justice, in such a situation as to be opposite the Intendant, with the Councillors, or Judges, arrayed on either side: so that they both seemed to preside in an equal degree." The Intendant, named originally by the King, was M. Robert whose commission was dated 21st March, 1663. This gentleman, however, never arrived in Quebec; and the first Intendant was M. de Talon, who arrived in 1665, with the Marquis De Tracy, and the Carignan Regiment. Of this gentleman, the most honorable mention is made in the annals of the country. The following anecdote has been handed down, of his first arrival in Quebec. Previous to his leaving France, the Superior

of the Hotel-Dieu had written to him, recommending that Community to his protection. On the next day after his arrival, with the true gallantry of a French gentleman, he determined to assure her in person of his good wishes, but first put in practice a little *ruse*, which, as the story runs, redounded, in the *denouement*, both to his own and to the credit of the Superior. Coming to the Nunnery, without equipage and plainly dressed, he requested to speak to the Superior, without giving any name. The Superior approached, accompanied by a nun, the Mother *Marie de la Nativité*,—when assuming the character of his own gentleman or *valet*, he assured them in the most polite and well conceived terms of the respect and interest which M. De Talon had always felt towards their Community, and promised on his part that nothing should be wanting to promote their welfare. As he spoke admirably, with great confidence and earnestness of manner, the other nun, who was a person of sagacity, making a sign to the Superior, replied, that she was not deceived in believing him to be of higher rank than that which he chose to assume. On M. De Talon's requesting to be informed, what there was about him to induce her to entertain such an opinion, the clever nun made answer, that there was that in his language and appearance which convinced her that she had the honor of speaking to the Intendant himself. On this he acknowledged his attempt at dissimulation, and his great satisfaction at receiving so elegant and so obliging a compliment. It may be imagined that the result of this interview was a lasting friendship between the Intendant and the

Community. He was mainly instrumental some years afterwards, in rebuilding the Hotel-Dieu on a more extended scale, as described in our account of that establishment; and was besides distinguished for his liberality on many other occasions.

The Intendant's Palace.

"Immediately through Palace-Gate, turning towards the left, and in front of the Ordnance buildings and storehouses,¹ once stood an edifice of great extent, surrounded by a spacious garden looking towards the River St. Charles, and as to its interior decorations, far more splendid than even the Castle of St. Lewis. It was the Palace of the Intendant, so called, because the sittings of the Sovereign Council were held there, after the establishment of the Royal Government in New France. A small district adjoining is still called, *Le Palais*, by the old inhabitants, and the name of the Gate, and of the well proportioned street which leads to it, are derived from the same origin.

"The Intendant's Palace was described by La Potherie, in 1698, as consisting of eighty *toises*, or four hundred and eighty feet, of buildings, so that it appeared a little town in itself. The King's stores were kept there. Its situation does not at the present time appear advantageous, but the aspect of the River St Charles was widely different in those days. The property in the neighborhood belonged to the Government, or to the Jesuits—large meadows

¹ All that now remains of that structure are some recently rebuilt cut stone warehouses next to the main entrance of the "Park" or King's wood-yard with some extensive ruins behind Boswell's Brewery.

and flowery parterres adorned the banks of the river, and reached the base of the rock; and as late as the time of Charlevoix, in 1720, that quarter of the city is spoken of as being the most beautiful. The entrance was into a court, through a large gateway, the ruins of which, in St. Vallier Street, still remain. The buildings formed nearly a square—in front of the river were spacious gardens, and on the sides the King's store houses. Beyond the Palace, towards the west, were the pleasing grounds of the Jesuits, and of the General Hospital.

“ This building, like most of the public establishments of Quebec, went through the ordeal of fire, and was afterwards rebuilt with greater attention to comfort and embellishment. In September 1712, M. Begon arrived as Intendant, with a splendid equipage, rich furniture, plate and apparel befitting his rank. He was accompanied by his wife, a young lady lately married, whose valuable jewels were the general admiration. A fire, which it was found impossible to extinguish, broke out in the night of the 5th January 1713; and burned so rapidly, that the Intendant and his lady with difficulty escaped in their *robes de chambre*. The latter was obliged to break the panes of glass in her apartment, before she had power to breathe, so as to attempt her escape through the smoke with which the passages were filled. Two young French women, who attended Madame Begon, perished in the flames—the Intendant's valet anxious to save some of his master's clothes, ventured imprudently within the burning chambers, and was consumed by the flames—his secretary, desirous of rescuing some valuables—

passed several times through the gardens towards the river in front of the house, without shoes, and was frozen. He died in the Hotel Dieu, a few days afterwards. The loss of the Intendant was stated at forty thousand crowns : his lady lost her jewels and rich dresses. Such, however, were the resources of M. Begon, that he is said to have lived with as much state in the Bishop's Palace, where he established himself, as he had maintained before the fire. On this occasion, the papers and records of the Treasury were lost, as well as the registers of the Council, and other valuable documents belonging to the King of France. The Palace was afterwards rebuilt in a splendid style by M. Begon at the King's expense. The following is its description, given by Charlevoix, in 1720, a few years afterwards ; " The Intendant's house is called the Palace, because the Superior Council assembles in it. This is a large pavilion, the two extremities of which project some feet ; and to which you ascend by a double flight of stairs. The garden front which faces the little river, which is very nearly on a level with it, is much more agreeable than that by which you enter. The King's magazines face the court on the right side, and behind that is the prison. The gate by which you enter is hid by the mountain on which the Upper Town stands, and which on this side affords no prospect, except that of a steep rock, extremely disagreeable to the sight. It was still worse before the fire, which reduced some years ago this whole Palace to ashes ; it having at that time no outer court, and the buildings then facing the street which was very narrow. As you go

along this street, or to speak more properly, this road, you come first of all into the country."

The Intendant's Palace was neglected as a place of official residence after the conquest in 1759. In 1775, it was occupied by a detachment of the American invading army, and destroyed by the fire of the Garrison. The only remains at present are a private house, the gateway alluded to above, and several stores belonging to Government, formed by repairing some of the old French buildings. The whole is now known by the name of the *King's wood-yard*." (Hawkins.)

The year 1689, was memorable, on account of the terrible slaughter of the French, near Montreal, by the Iroquois; it is known, in history, as the "Lachine Massacre:" Iroquois ferocity continued to be a standing menace, if not to Quebec, at least to Montreal. De Callière originated a plan of a daring nature: "He proposed France should make herself mistress of New York and Virginia, by purchase, treaty, or force. If force should be resorted to, he offered to effect the desired result, by conducting thirteen hundred soldiers and three hundred Canadians by the route of the Richelieu and Lake Champlain, as if to make war on the cantons, and thence to diverge towards Fort *Orange*, on the Hudson, and Manhattan (New York,) and capture the English posts by suddenly assaulting them in succession. "This conquest," he added, "would make the King master of one of the most beautiful sea-ports of America, accessible at all seasons of the year, and of a region possessing a fine climate and fertile lands, which the English, themselves, conquered from the Dutch." The

French King and his ministers approved of the plans submitted to them."¹ This was a bold idea to enter into the heads of those who held the Castle St. Louis. The breaking out of the war between France and England, consequent on the ascension to the English throne, of William of Orange and expulsion of James II, the ally and *protégé* of France, prepared, for the city of Champlain, thrilling scenes, which were enacted soon after the return, at Quebec, of the gallant and proud Count de Frontenac, on the 15th October, 1689.

Mr. de Portneuf, a noted Quebecer, started at the end of January, in the severest season of the year,² at the head of fifty French Canadians and about sixty Abenakis. Pursuing their course along the valley of the Kennebec, their force was increased by the addition of other warriors, belonging to the same nation. On starting, the Indian auxiliaries were almost without provisions, so, that, during the march they could subsist only by spreading through the forest, hunting for game. The design, in this case, was to attack and capture the fortified stations on the Bay of Casco, near to the modern city of Portland.

Owing to the case which has been named, as well as the impediments, occasioned by the rough state of the regions through which they had to pass, Portneuf and his followers, spent four months in proceeding to the destined points of attack.

The town of Casco, on Casco Bay, was defended by a considerable fort, well supplied with cannon,

¹ Miles's *History of Canada*, P. 204.

² Miles's *History of Canada*, P. 211.

ammunition and provisions. There were also four smaller forts, which were speedily captured. The defenders of the principal fort made a show of resistance, and when summoned to surrender refused to do so. Two or three days were occupied by the invaders in digging trenches and surrounding the place, when it was yielded, upon the terms which had been proposed ; about thirty had been killed, and the prisoners, included seventy men and a large number of women and children. The French lost only two or three men. 'After burning all the habitations, and demolishing the defences, the invaders commenced their retreat on the 1st of June. On the march, great cruelty was exercised by the savages upon the helpless women and children, many of whom were sacrificed. This band effected its return to Quebec on the 23rd of June."

The scenes of blood, midnight pillage and destruction effected by the Montreal band, at Schenectady, and by the Three Rivers band, at Salmon Falls,—conducted by Hertel de Rouville, are matters pertaining to the general history of Canada, and not to the Annals of the city. Such, the terrible retaliation taken by the Governor of Quebec, on account of the Lachine and other massacres on Canadian soil ; some of which had been instigated by the deceit, cruelty and treachery of Denonville in inviting Iroquois chiefs, at Fort Frontenac—then seizing on them and despatching them to France, to serve in the King's galleys, after shutting them down, during the sea-passage of several weeks, in the holds of the small vessels of those days. Between Indian treachery, and European treachery,

there does not appear much to choose. New England' however, would soon have her turn and retaliate on a larger scale both by sea, and by land, with the usual accompaniments: disaster and defeat.¹

"The late bloody incursions," says Miles, "into the British Provinces and the known desire of the French to carry out DeCallière's plan of conquest (of New York, &c.,) so soon as circumstances should permit had convinced the English leaders that peaceable or friendly neighborhood was impossible. They were determined, besides, to establish and extend their commercial intercourse with the savages, around the great lakes and in the west, with whom the French would never permit any such relations to subsist.

Accordingly, a force of thirteen hundred men, under General Winthrop and Major Schuyler, was equipped for a movement upon Montreal, by the route of Lake Champlain; while a fleet of upwards of thirty vessels, manned by fifteen hundred sailors, and carrying thirteen hundred militia, was despatched from Boston, under Sir William Phipps and Major Walley. The resolution to fit out these armament, had been taken at a congress of the English colonies, held early in May 1690, soon after the massacres of Schenectady and Salmon Falls, and after the advance of the Quebec force into Maine, had become generally known.

Of the proceedings of the troops, under Winthrop and Schuyler, it is enough to say here that they accomplished little or nothing; for, on account of defective arrangements for supplying them with

¹ Miles's *History of Canada*, P. 211.

provisions and means of transport, the General retired to Albany, from his march upon Canada, almost as soon as he reached Lake Champlain. Schuyler advanced further, but was easily repulsed.

The delays in expediting the English forces from Boston, were such that the fleet did not sail until the summer was well advanced. It was destined for the attack and capture of Quebec; but its movements were so leisurely, and its officers held so many councils of war at the various stages of its progress into the Gulf and up the St. Lawrence, that October arrived before it appeared off Cape Diamond.....

The gates of Quebec were barricaded, and batteries of cannon mounted at all eligible points, with the aid of strong beams of timber, bags and barrels, filled with stones and earth. As the news of the expected attack, and the orders of the Governor reached the outlying settlements, the people poured into the place for protection and to take an active part in its defence.¹

Amongst the brave defenders of the beleaguered city were two of the celebrated seven brothers Le Moyne—Ste. Hélène and Maricourt. Ste. Hélène, t'is said, pointed the cannon which brought down the flag of the admiral's ship; it dropped into the river and immediately Maricourt, his brother, and some other young Canadians, leaped into the water, swam out for it, under fire, and conveyed it ashore. The flag remained as a trophy in the parish church of Quebec, until the surrender of Quebec.

"On the 18th, the troops were landed, under Major

¹ Miles's *History of Canada*, P. 215, 216.

Walley,¹ near the mouth of the St. Charles river, and the ships of the squadron opened a cannonade against the city. The garrison guns replied vigorously, and it was soon made to appear that their fire was more effective than that of the English. Observing this, Phipps drew off, but renewed the bombardment the following day until noon, by which time he saw clearly that his hopes of success were gone, unless the troops on shore could force their way into the city, and capture it by assault. Accordingly, he again retired out of range with his damaged vessels.

In the meantime, the troops attempted an advance through the slush and mud along the banks of the St. Charles, but not before the principal cannonade between the batteries of the city and the ships had ceased. Some severe skirmishing occurred on the land. Frontenac had judiciously refrained from opposing the disembarkation of the English soldiers, conscious of his ability, from his numbers and strong position, to repel any assault. But whenever the assailants, after establishing themselves in a hastily-constructed encampment, on the opposite side of the river, attempted any movement, they found themselves exposed to attacks from bodies of militia, commanded by the Le Moynes (Duchesnays) and other active French officers, stationed at different points and sheltered by the bushes and rocks. Frontenac, in person, at the head of a considerable body of troops, placed himself in a position to observe the proceedings of the skirmishers, and in readiness to cross over to the support of his own people, if it

¹ This officer left a Journal of the siege operations which will be found in Smith's *History of Canada*.

should be judged necessary. The results of these partial conflicts were generally favourable to the French militia and volunteers. From time to time vessels of the hostile fleet came within range of the land batteries and fired upon the city.¹

"The defeat of SIR WILLIAM PHIPPS (in 1690)," says Hawkins, "was sensibly felt by the people of NEW ENGLAND, who, indeed, were called upon to defray the expense, amounting to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. They frequently represented to the BRITISH MINISTRY, the commercial advantages which would result from the total expulsion of the French from NORTH AMERICA. At last, in 1707, during the military glories of the reign of QUEEN ANNE, distinguished by a MARLBOROUGH, as this age (1884), is by a WELLINGTON—the EARL of SUNDERLAND, Secretary of State, determined to make another attempt to dislodge the French from their most impregnable position at QUEBEC. The armament intended for this object, under the command of GENERAL MACARTNEY, was, however, diverted from its destination, and ordered to Portugal, in consequence of the disastrous condition to which the affairs of the QUEEN'S ALLY, Charles III, King of Spain, had been reduced by the defeat of the allied forces, at ALMANZA.

The destruction of the English armada commanded by Sir Hovenden Walker, 1711.

In 1711, the project was resumed only to result in a signal and mortifying failure. The plan of this expedition was suggested by a provincial officer,

¹ Miles's *History of Canada*, P. 218.

GENERAL NICHOLSON, who had just taken possession of NOVA SCOTIA, on which occasion he had given the name of ANNAPOLIS to Port Royal. This officer had brought to London four Indian chiefs and had the address to persuade the Ministry to enter into the views of the NEW ENGLAND STATES. The expedition consisted of five thousand troops from ENGLAND, and two thousand provincials, under BRIGADIER GENERAL HILL, brother to the QUEEN'S favorite, MRS. MASHAM. The naval force was very strong, and was placed under the command of SIR HOVENDEN WALKER. The fleet met with constant fogs in the GULF of ST. LAWRENCE, and was nearly destroyed on EGG ISLANDS

Despairing of success, the ADMIRAL called a council of war, and it was determined to return to England, without making any further attempt. Eight transports were lost on this disastrous day, with eight hundred and eighty-four officers, soldiers and seamen.

The provincial land forces under GENERAL NICHOLSON which had advanced as far as ALBANY and had been joined by six hundred Iroquois, returned to their respective quarters, on hearing of the failure of the naval expedition. It is remarkable that during the heat of the factions of that day the Whigs affected to consider this attempt on Quebec, so perfectly desperate an undertaking, that it was made one of the articles of impeachment, against HARLEY, EARL OF OXFORD, that he had suffered it to go.

The Marquis de VAUDREUIL, then GOVERNOR GENERAL of CANADA, omitted no duty of a brave and prudent officer on this occasion. The rejoicings at

QUEBEC were naturally great at so signal a deliverance; and the church of NOTRE-DAME DE LA VICTOIRE, spoke the pious gratitude of the religious inhabitants, by assuming the title of NOTRE-DAME DES VICTOIRES."

We find the occupation, aims and aspirations of that fighting period well defined, in the following words of Parkman.

"The French system favored military efficiency. The Canadian population sprang in great part from soldiers, and was to the last, systematically re-inforced by disbanded soldiers. Its chief occupation was a continual training for forest war; it had little or nothing to lose, and little to do, but fight and range the woods. This was not all. The Canadian government was essentially military. At its head was a soldier-nobleman, often an old and able commander, and those beneath him caught his spirit and emulated his example. In spite of its political nothingness, in spite of poverty and hardship, and in spite even of trade, the upper stratum of Canadian Society was animated by the pride and fire of that gallant *noblesse* which held war as its only worthy calling, and prized honor more than life. As for the *habitant*, the forest, lake and river were his true school; and here at least, he was an apt scholar. A skilful woodsman, a bold and adroit canoe-man, a willing fighter in time of need, often serving without pay, and receiving from government, only his provisions and his canoe, he was more than ready at any time for any hardy enterprise; and in the forest warfare of skirmish and surprise, there were few to match him. An absolute government used him at will, and

experienced leaders guided his rugged valor to the best account."

Such the Quebecer, in the warlike days of Count Frontenac. We have stated elsewhere, how the exiled noblesse unable to keep up with the luxury of that French court, of which they dreamed day and night, attempted the building up of a New France, in the colony and became tillers of the soil. Parkman, a New Englander, will tell us the outlets¹ which their adventurous spirit and hardihood occasionally sought.

"On the Great Lakes, in the wastes of the Northwest, and on the Mississippi and the plains beyond, we find the roving *gentilhomme*, chief of a gang of bushrangers, often his own *habitants*; sometimes proscribed by the government, sometimes leagued in contraband traffic with its highest officials, a hardy vidette of civilization, tracing unknown streams, piercing unknown forests, trading, fighting, negotiating, and building forts. Again we find him on the shores of Acadia or Maine, surrounded by Indian retainers, a menace and a terror to the neighboring English colonist.

"Saint-Castin, Du Lhut, La Durantaye, La Salle, La Motte-Cadillac, Iberville, Bienville, La Verendrye, are names that stand conspicuous on the page of half-savage romance that refreshes the hard and practical annals of American colonization. But a more substantial debt is due to their memory. It was they, and such as they, who discovered the Ohio, explored the Mississippi to its mouth, disco-

¹ *Old Régime*, P. 398.

vered the Rocky Mountains, and founded Detroit, St. Louis, and New Orleans".....

Old world feuds—the rivalry between France and England burnt brightly on the banks of the St. Lawrence. The puritan of New England, was indeed great, at burning witches, but no match in war, for the ¹ roving French *gentilhomme* who, according to the New England historian, Parkman, "was never more at home than when, a gun in his hand and a crucifix on his breast, he took the war-path with a crew of painted savages and Frenchmen almost as wild, and pounced like a lynx from the forest on some lovely farm or "outlying hamlet of New England. How New England hated him, let her records tell. The reddest blood streaks on her old annals mark the track of the Canadian *gentilhomme*" ²

Avenging spirits, however, would spring up in the future.

Arnold's, New England riflemen rushing wildly, in 1775, on the barricades in Sault-au-Matelot street, with the words "Death or Victory" on their hats, seemed determined to wipe off past defeats; alas, fate decreed it otherwise. Monarchical Canada was spared for one century at least, the manifold blessings of republican rule!

The Chateau St. Louis.

"Few circumstances of discussion and enquiry are more interesting than the history and fate of ancient buildings, especially if we direct our attention to the fortunes and vicissitudes of those who were con-

¹ *Old Régime*, P. 261.

² *Old Régime*, P. 263,

nected with them. The temper, genius and pursuits of an historical era are frequently delineated in the features of remarkable edifices, nor can any one contemplate them without expressing curiosity, concerning those who first formed the plan, and afterwards created and tenanted the structure. These observations apply particularly to the subject of this chapter.

“ The history of the ancient Castle of St. Louis, or Fort of Quebec, for above two centuries, the seat of Government in the Province, affords subjects of great and stirring interest during its several periods. The hall of the old Fort, during the weakness of the colony, was often a scene of terror and despair at the inroads of the persevering and ferocious Iroquois, who, having passed or overthrown all the French outposts, more than once threatened the Fort itself, and massacred some friendly Indians within sight of its walls. There, too, in intervals of peace were laid those benevolent plans for the religious instruction and conversion of the savages, which at one time distinguished the policy of the ancient government. At a later era, when under the protection of the French Kings, the Province had acquired the rudiments of military strength and power, the Castle of St. Louis was remarkable, as having been the site whence the French Governors exercised an immense sovereignty, extending from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, along the shores of that noble river, its magnificent lakes,—and down the course of the Mississippi, to its outlet, below New Orleans. The banner which first streamed from the battlements of Quebec, was displayed from a chain of Forts, which

protected the settlements through the vast extent of country ; keeping the English colonies in constant alarm, and securing the fidelity of the Indian nations. During this period, the council chamber of the Castle was the scene of many a midnight vigil,—many a long deliberation and deep-laid project,—to free the continent from the intrusion of the ancient rival of France, and assert throughout the supremacy of the gallic lily. At another era, subsequent to the surrender of Quebec, to the British arms, and until the recognition of the independence of the United States, the extent of empire, of the government of which the Castle of Quebec was the principal seat, comprehended the whole American continent, north of Mexico ! It is astonishing to reflect for a moment, to how small and as to size, comparatively insignificant an island in the Atlantic Ocean, this gigantic territory was once subject !

“ Here, also, was rendered to the representatives of the French King, with all its ancient forms, the fealty and homage of the noblesse, and military retainers, who held possessions in the Province under the Crown—a feudal ceremony, suited to early times, which imposed a real and substantial obligation on those who performed it, not to be violated without forfeiture and dishonor. The King of Great Britain having succeeded to the rights of the French Crown, this ceremony is still (1834) maintained.¹

¹ “ Fealty and homage is rendered at this day (1834), by the seigniors to the Governor as the representative of the sovereign, in the following form : His Excellency being in full dress and seated in a state chair, surrounded by his staff, and attended by the Attorney General, the seignior, in an evening dress and wearing a sword, is introduced into his presence by the Inspector General of the Royal Domain and Clerk

An instance of "faith and homage rendered" by a seignior to the Crown, more than one century later, "one year after the army of Wolfe had entered Quebec" is quoted by the author of the OLD REGIME, Frs. Parkman.

"Philippe Noël, had lately died, and Jean Noël, his son, inherited his seigniory of Tilly¹ and Bonsecours. To make the title good, faith and homage must be renewed. Jean Noël was under the bitter necessity of rendering this duty to General Murray, Governor for the King of Great Britain. The form is

of the Land Roll, and having delivered up his sword, and kneeling upon one knee before the Governor, places his right hand between his and repeats the ancient oath of fidelity; after which a solemn act is drawn up in a register kept for that purpose, which is signed by the Governor and the seignior, and countersigned by the proper officers." (*Hawkins Picture of Quebec.*)

The historian, Ferland, *Notes sur les Régistres de Notre-Dame de Québec*, relates, one of the earliest instances (1634) of the manner the *Foi et hommage* was rendered. It is that of Jean Guion (Dion?), vassal of Robert Giffard, seignior of Beauport, "Guion presents himself, in the presence of a notary, at the principal door of the manor-house of Beauport; having knocked, one Boullé, farmer of Giffard, opened the door and in reply to Guion's question, if the seignior was at home, replied that he was not, but that he, Boullé, was empowered to receive acknowledgments of faith and homage from the vassals in his name. "After the which reply, the said Guion, being at the principal door, placed himself on his knees, on the ground, with bare-head and without sword or spurs, and said three times these words: "Monsieur de Beauport, Monsieur de Beauport, Monsieur de Beauport, I bring you the faith and homage which I am bound to bring you on account of my *fief* Du Buisson, which I hold as a man of faith of your seigniory of Beauport, declaring that I offer to pay my seigniorial and feudal dues in their season, and demanding of you to accept me in faith and homage as aforesaid." (*Old Régime*, P. 246.)

¹ Subsequently and to this day known as the seigniory of St. Antoine de Tilly—in the county of Lotbinière. This seigniory was until a very few years back in the possession of the Seigneurs Noël, large framed men, of generous and jovial natures.—The sun of the seigniorial honors alas! has for ever set behind the Seigniorial Act of 1854.

the same as in the case of Guion, more than a century before. Noël repairs to the Government House, at Quebec, and knocks at the door. A servant opens it. Noël asks if the Governor is there. The servant replies that he is. Murray, informed of the visitor's object, comes to the door, and Noël then and there, "without sword or spurs, with bare-head, and one knee on the ground," repeats the acknowledgment of faith and homage for his seignior. He was compelled, however, to add a detested innovation, the oath of fidelity to his Britannic Majesty, coupled with a pledge to keep his vassals in obedience to the new sovereign."

"A water-color sketch of the château taken in 1804, from the land-side, by William Morrison, junior, is in my possession. The building appears to have been completely remodelled in the interval. It is two stories in height; the Mansard roof is gone, and a row of attic windows surmounts the second story. In 1809, it was again remodelled, at a cost of ten thousand pounds sterling. A third story was added; and the building, resting on the buttresses, which still remain under the balustrade of Durham Terrace, had an imposing effect when seen from the river."¹

"In 1690, a remarkable scene occurred in the Castle of St. Lewis, which at that period had assumed an appearance worthy of the Governors General, who made it the seat of the Royal Government. This dignity was then held by the COUNT DE FRONTENAC, a nobleman of great talents, long services, but of extreme pride. He had made every preparation that short notice would permit for the recep-

¹ *Old Régime*, P. 419.

tion of the English expedition against Quebec, under Sir William Phipps, which came to anchor in the basin on the 5th October, old style. Charlevoix, using the new style, makes the date the 16th. The English had every reason to expect that the city was without defence, and that they might capture it by surprise. An officer was sent ashore with a flag of truce, who was met half way by a French Major; and after a bandage had been placed before his eyes, was conducted to the Castle by a circuitous route, that he might hear the warlike preparations which were going on, and feel the number of obstructions and barriers of *chevaux-de-frise* which were to be passed, in the ascent to the upper-town. Every deception was practised to induce the Englishman to believe that he was in the midst of a numerous garrison; and some of the contrivances were ludicrous enough. Ten or twelve men were instructed to meet him, to cross his path at different places, and to pass and repass constantly during the way. The very ladies came out to enjoy the singular spectacle of a man led blindfold by two serjeants in this manner, and bestowed upon him the nickname of *Colin Maillard*. There can be little doubt, however, that he perceived the trick played upon him. On arrival at the Castle, his surprise is represented to have been extreme, on the removal of the bandage, to find himself in the presence of the Governor General, the Bishop, the Intendant, and a large staff of French officers, arrayed in full uniform for the occasion, who were clustered together in the centre of the great hall. The English officer immediately presented to Frontenac a written summons to surrender, in the name of William and Mary, King and

Queen of England ; and drawing out his watch and placing it on the table, demanded a positive answer in an hour at furthest. This last action completed the excitement of the French officers, who had been with difficulty able to restrain themselves during the delivery of the summons, which the Englishman read in a loud voice, and which was translated into French on the spot. A murmur of indignation ran through the assembly ; and one of the officers present, the *Sieur de Valrènes*, impetuously exclaimed, " that the messenger ought to be treated as the envoy of a corsair, or common marauder, since Phipps, was in arms against his legitimate sovereign." Frontenac, although his pride was deeply wounded by the uncereemonious manner of the Englishman, conducted himself with greater moderation ; and without seeming to have heard the interruption of Valrènes, made the following high-spirited answer : " You will have no occasion to wait so long for my reply. Here it is. I do not recognise King William, but I know that the Prince of Orange is an usurper, who has violated the most sacred ties of blood and of religion in dethroning the King, his father-in-law ; and I acknowledge no other legitimate sovereign of England than James the Second. Sir William Phipps, ought not to be surprised at the hostilities carried on by the French and their Allies—he ought to have expected that the King, my master, having received the King of England under his protection, would direct me to make war upon people who have revolted against their lawful Prince. Could he imagine, even if he had offered me better conditions, and even if I were of a temper to listen to them, that so many gallant

gentlemen would consent, or advise me to place any confidence in that man's word, who has broken the capitulation which he made with the Governor of Acadia?—who has been wanting in loyalty towards his sovereign—who has forgotten all the benefits heaped upon him, to follow the fortunes of a stranger, who, while he endeavors to persuade the world that he has no other object in view than to be the DELIVERER of England and defender of the faith, has destroyed the laws and privileges of the Kingdom, and overturned the English Church—crimes, which that same divine justice, which Sir William invokes, will one day severely punish”

“The Englishman, hereupon, demanded that this reply should be reduced to writing: which Frontenac peremptorily refused, adding,—“I am going to answer your master by the cannon's mouth. He shall be taught that this is not the manner in which a person of my rank ought to be summoned.” The bandage having been replaced, the English officer was re-conducted with the same mysteries to his boat; and was no sooner on board the Admiral's vessel, than the batteries began to play eighteen and twenty-four pound shot upon the fleet. Sir William's own flag was shot away by a French officer, named Maricourt; and having been picked up by some Canadians, was hung up as a trophy in the Cathedral Church, where it probably remained until the capture in 1759. The English bombarded the town, which, in spite of the bold front of Frontenac, was in a terrible state of confusion and alarm; and did some damage to the public buildings.

Charlevoix seems to admire greatly the haughty bearing of Frontenac on this occasion: it is but just

to remark, however, that by his own showing, the Englishman executed his mission with the greatest coolness and presence of mind; and that the insult he received was little creditable to those who knew not how to respect a flag of truce.

“ Sir William Phipps, ancestor of the present Earl of Mulgrave was generally blamed for the failure of this expedition, perhaps unjustly. Finding the place on its guard and prepared to receive him, it would have been madness to have commenced a regular siege, at that advanced period of the season. As it was, he lost several of his vessels on his passage back to Boston. It should be remembered also, that it was QUEBEC against which he was sent, itself a natural fortress, and when defended by a zealous garrison, almost impregnable. And it is admitted by Charlevoix, that had Sir William Phipps not been delayed by contrary winds and the ignorance of his pilots,—nay, had he even reached Quebec three days sooner, he would have completely accomplished his object, and Quebec would have been captured before it could be known in Montreal that it was even in danger.

“ There were great rejoicings at Quebec for the victory; and the King of France ordered a medal to be struck, with this inscription: “ *Francia in novo orbe victrix. Kebeca liberata M. DC. XC.*” The Count de Frontenac was certainly one of the most distinguished of the French Governors. He died in Quebec in 1698, and was buried in the Recollet Church, which formerly stood near the site of the present English Cathedral. The only memorial of him in Quebec, is to be found in the Street which was called from his family name, BUADÉ Street.

CHAPTER IV.

1713—1759.

A LONG PEACE.

ARTS. — COMMERCE. — AGRICULTURE. — MANUFACTURES. — BIGOT, 1748.
— FRAUDS. — WAR! WAR! — WOLFE. — THE FLEET. — THE FIRE
SHIPS. — THE BATTLE OF BEAUPORT FLATS. — THE BATTLE OF THE
PLAINS OF ABRAHAM. — THE DEATH OF WOLFE. — THE DEATH OF
MONTGALM. — CAPITULATION.

Let us in this chapter review a period of forty-six years, terminating with French rule—wholly engrossed with useful pursuits. They were probably the quietest times the colony ever enjoyed under the dominion of the Bourbons, though grim war and the bitterest of feuds, closed the scene.

The year 1713, was marked by a most important event for France and England; the signing of the treaty of Utrecht, which ceded the Hudson Bay territory, New Foundland and Acadia (Nova Scotia) to Britain whilst France retained Canada, Cape Breton, and some rights in fisheries, in the gulf of St. Lawrence, leaving still dangling between the two rivals that everlasting apple of discord: the question of the boundaries.

Quebecers in 1716, were elated at the return from France, of Governor de Vaudreuil's lady—an Acadian by birth, a spirited and remarkable woman who had been made a prisoner of war by the English. Greater still their joy, when they dwelt on the results of the Jesuit Lafitau's botanical discovery, which was to make, in less than no time, millionnaires of them all. Lafitau found in the Canadian forest, the Gingseng Plant ; a pound of which procurable at Quebec for two francs, fetched twenty-five francs at Canton, in China. Greed, however, in this, as in many other cases, overshot the mark. Instead of drying the plant slowly in the shade, it was thrust and parched in ovens. This made it valueless to the disciple of Confucius, who swore by his pigtail, he would stand no such imposition. Gingseng, which had attained eighty francs per lb, fell to nothing ; thus died the Quebec hen that layed the golden eggs.

The year following, 1717, the town was provided with a Court of Admiralty ; and the latter part of it, saddened by the demise of the French King, Louis XIV, who had expired in September. In 1720, the population of Quebec, had reached to 7,000 souls : that of Montreal 3,000. Quebec was increasing rapidly in importance : it was the entrepot of the colony. “ The merchants and shippers ” says Garneau, “ sent out annually five or six barques, to the seal fisheries, and about as many laden with flour, biscuit, vegetables, staves and lumber to Louisbourg and the West-Indies, returning with cargoes of pit-coal, sugar, rum, coffee, molasses. The trade with France employed about twenty vessels of good aggregate tonnage ”

The historian, Charlevoix, who landed here, in October 1720, thus describes the denizens of Quebec. "There are not" says he "more than 5000 souls at Quebec, but we find nothing but what is select and calculated to form an agreeable society. A Governor General, with his staff of high born officers, and his troops; an Intendant, with a superior council and superior courts; a commissary of marine, grand provost, grand voyer, and a superintendant of waters and forests, whose jurisdiction is certainly the most extensive in the world; merchants in easy circumstances, or at least living as if they were; a Bishop and a numerous seminary, Recollets and Jesuits, three female religious communities, well established; other circles elsewhere, as those surrounding the Governor and the Intendant. On the whole, it seems to me there are, for all classes of persons, means of passing the time agreeably, every one contributes to his utmost. People amuse themselves with games and excursions, using *calèches* in summer, sledges and skates in winter. There is a great deal of hunting, for many gentlefolks have no other resource for living in comfort. Current news relates to only a few topics, as the country does not furnish many. The news from Europe comes at once, and occupies a great part of the year, furnishing subjects of conversation relative to the past and future. Science and the arts have their turn.

"The Canadians breathe from their birth the air of liberty, which renders them very agreeable in social intercourse. Nowhere else is our language spoken in greater purity; one observes no defective accent.

“ There are here no rich people, every one is hospitable, and nobody amuses himself in making money. If a person cannot afford to entertain friends at table, he at least endeavours to dress well.

“ The best blood of our country is here in both sexes. There is a general love of pleasure and amusement, with polished manners, and a total absence of rusticity, whether in language or in habits through the country. It is not the same, they say, with our neighbours, the English colonists, and those who do not know the colonies, except by the daily habits, actions, and language, would not hesitate to say that ours is the most flourishing. In fact, there prevails in New England an opulence, which the people seem not to know how to use; and, in New France, a poverty which is concealed under an unstudied air of ease. New England is supported by the culture of the plantations, New France by the industry of its inhabitants. The English colonist amasses well, and incurs no superfluous expense; the French enjoys that which he has, and sometimes makes a parade of what he does not possess. The former works for his heirs; the latter leaves for his descendants the same state of necessity which was his own lot; to escape from it as they best can. The anglo-americans do not desire war, because they have much to loose; nor do they meddle much with the savages, because they do not think they require them. On the contrary the French youth, detest a state of peace, and like to dwell among the native, whose admiration they gain in war, and their friendship at all times. ¹

¹ *Histoire de la Nouvelle-France*, par le Père Charlevoix.

Charlevoix's views accord with those of the Swedish Professor Kalm, who visited Quebec, more than a quarter of a century later, viz in August 1749.

Many and harrowing the tales of shipwreck in our noble river, ere its rocks and shoals were lit and buoyed. A memorable disaster was that of the French vessel of war, the transport *Le Chameau*; it became a total wreck on reefs, without even one inmate to tell of her fate, in Sept., 1725.—In this luckless ship, destined for Quebec, perished, the new Intendant de Chazel, the successor to Bégon—also M. de Léuvigny, Governor of Three Rivers, along with several officers, ecclesiastics, traders, six schoolmasters, and a number of intending colonists. This was a severe loss to the growing city.

Quebec, had to wear more mourning, for the death of Governor de Vaudreuil, on 10 Oct., 1725. We are compelled to pass over wars and other incidents relating to the general history of Canada, to point out years of calamity to the city, 1729–30–31–32–33. They were marked by inundation, earthquakes, famine in 1729–30—small-pox in 1733. "It was, says Garneau, in the famine year (1730) that the *Digue du Palais*, now obliterated to the eye by the wharves (the Gas Wharf, &c.,) was constructed, in order to give useful employment and needful pay to starving people, by forming a river wall, within which a hundred vessels could winter conveniently." Where, then stood this long jetty, one hundred and forty-six years ago, the North Shore Railway terminus is now in process of construction.

The arrival of Intendant Bigot in 1748, will prepare a new era—the downfall of French Dominion

in New France. Patriotism—public spirit—honesty among Quebec officials will henceforward hide their head. For good or for bad, we may expect to find society in the colony a reflex of what it was in the parent state.

War-loving France, staggering under reverses in Germany, in the West and East Indies, with an empty treasury, had not the means, even if she the heart, to defend her distant colony against foreign aggression.

Alas ! chivalrous old France of Henry IV, to what depths of infamy thy new masters are dragging thee ! Lower still, thou shall have to sink. Thy streets—thy squares—thy hamlets—thy palaces, will be yet deluged with blood, ere matters mend ! The strong arm of Britain will, however, shield the few devoted sons, you may forget on Canadian shores : for them, no guillotines.

Oppressive taxes were heaped on the working classes, in France in 1755, to carry on useless wars, or to pamper court minions. Effeminacy—luxury—unbridled license reigned supreme amidst the higher orders ; open, shameless profligacy at Court. Such it was in the colony, with favoritism superadded. Quebec received her fashions and her officials from France ; the latter came with their vices ; several of these vices were expensive.

The French Sultan, Louis XV, must needs have his harem ; his gaming tables ; his flaunting mistresses ; his *parc-aux-cerfs*. The turnpike to fortune for courtiers, lies through the smiles of La Pompadour.

Quebec too shall possess its miniature French Court, on the green banks of the St. Charles. A very high official—the Minister of Police, of Justice, of

Finance, will preside over it—Intendant Bigot, whose power on many points was coequal with that of the Governor of the Colony. This luxurious¹ official had to provide suitable entertainment for the mighty of the land, out of the most paltry salary, his Government allowing him to make up the deficiency by the privilege of trading in the colony.² Bigot, with

¹ Old memoirs furnish curious details of the flittings of the great Intendant between Quebec and Montreal.

The Parliamentary Library at Ottawa, contains a long and interesting MS. account, written by a French Official of the day, M. Franquet, Inspector of Fortifications in New France, in 1752. Franquet came here, charged with an important mission. He was just the man whom Bigot thought ought to be "dined and wined" properly. Thus we find the Royal Inspector invited to join the Intendant on a voyage to Montreal. The Government "Gondola," a long flat bateau, propelled by sails as well as by oars, accordingly left the *Cul-de-Sac*, Quebec, on the 24th July, 1752. It could carry 8,000 lbs. burthen, with a crew of fourteen sailors. In the centre, there was a space about six feet square, enclosed by curtains, and "with seats with blue cushions,"—a dais over head protected the inmates from the rays of the sun, and from rain. Choice wines, spirits, eatables,—even to ready cash,—everything necessary to human sustenance or pleasure, was abundantly provided.

There was nothing ascetic about the bachelor Bigot. Ladies of rank, wit and beauty, felt it an honor to join his brilliant court, where they met most charming *Cavaliers*,—young officers of the Regiments stationed at Quebec. Monsieur Franquet seems to have enjoyed himself amazingly, and describes some merry episodes which occurred at Three Rivers and other trysting places, of the magnificent Intendant.

² The *Mémoires sur le Canada de 1749 à 1760*, recently republished by the *Literary and Historical Society* of Quebec, contain some quaint pen-photographs of Bigot, his courtiers and *employés*.

Of Bigot, we learn, "Il était de petite taille, mais bien fait; d'un port agréable, d'une grande bravoure, actif, aimant le faste, les plaisirs et surtout le jeu."

Town-Major Pean's chief attractions in the eyes of Bigot, were the charms of Madame Pean!—Her influence at court, was without limit: though the "Domestiques, laquais et gens de rien furent faits, garde-magasin dans les postes"; leur ignorance et leur bassesse ne furent point un obstacle."

the helping hand of Cadet, Deschenaux, Corpron, Maurin, Estebe, Penisseault, Breard, Pean, and a crowd of other parasites became, a mighty trader.

Honor—loyalty to the King—these were not empty words for the old Canadian *noblesse*,—the Longueuils, the Vaudreuils, and others; Bigot had to look elsewhere for fitting tools. He, therefore, selected his *personnel*, his working staff, out of the most unscrupulous *parvenus*, who had won favor with the Court Favorite, Madame Pean. Bigot, like his royal master, must have not only a sumptuous palace in the city, with women more beautiful than chaste, to preside at his *recherché* routs, games and *soirées*, but also a diminutive *Parc-aux-cerfs*, at Charlesbourg,

DESCHENAUX, was son of a cobbler, born at Quebec.

CADET, descended from a butcher and had been a butcher.

CORPRON, was a hideous hunchback physically; and morally, a still more repulsive specimen of humanity.

At the surrender of Quebec, Bigot and accomplices having returned to France, were for fifteen months shut up in the Bastille, tried for their frauds, and the following sentence recorded against the leaders:

BIGOT—Perpetual banishment: his property confiscated: 1,000 *livres* of fine, and 1,500,000 *livres* to be refunded.

VARIN—Perpetual banishment: his property confiscated: 1,000 *livres* of fine, and 800,000 *livres* to be refunded.

CADET—Nine years banishment, 500 *livres* to fine, and 300,000 *livres* to be refunded.

PENISSEAUULT—Nine years exile, 500 *livres* of fine, and 600,000 *livres* to be refunded.

MAURIN—Nine years exile, 500 *livres* of fine, and 600,000 *livres* to be refunded.

CORPRON—Condemned to be admonished in Parliament, 6 *livres* to the poor, and 600,000 *livres* to be refunded.

ESTEBE—Condemned to be admonished in Parliament, to give 6 *livres* to the poor, and 100,000 *livres* of restitution.

DE NOYAN—Condemned to be admonished in Parliament, 6 *livres* in charities to the poor with incarceration in the Bastille for the ten offenders, until amounts are paid.

where the pleasures of the table and chase were diversified by *Ecarté* or *Rouge et Noir*, when other amusements palled on the senses.

In order to maintain such a luxurious style of living, and make up for gambling losses, Bigot was not long ere he discovered that his salary, added to his profits on trade even on the vastest scale, were quite inadequate.

The gaunt spectre of famine, during the year 1755, was stalking through the streets of Quebec. Of the crowds of Acadians, who about that time sought shelter in and around the capital of New France, no less than three hundred had died of starvation, disease and neglect. The starving poor were seen dropping in the streets, from weakness. During these dreadful times, unbounded luxury, feasting, riot and gambling ("*un jeu à faire trembler les plus déterminés joueurs*") were the inmates of the Intendant's palace. Horse flesh and dry codfish were distributed to the poorer class. The Men of pleasure, the Intendant's agents, all this times defrauded them remorselessly. The unfortunates, who dared to complain at the Intendance, were hustled about and brutally treated, by Bigot's *entourage*, intent on fattening undisturbed, on the public calamity.

Want soon became so pressing, that the French Court decided to ship to Quebec some scanty supplies. The Intendant had the preparing of the requisitions, the storing and the distribution of the provisions sent out from France, for Quebec, Montreal and elsewhere. This was a golden opportunity, which Bigot and his profligate comrades turned to good account. The Intendant, in fact, was in partnership

with ever so many public officials,—more properly,—public robbers.

It was arranged that one of them, Clavery, clerk of Mr. Estebe, should open a general warehouse, next to the Intendance, where the bounty of the French King, filched from the Government stores, was retailed to the famished Quebecers, at an enormous advance. This repository of fraud and plunder, the people appropriately nicknamed "*La Friponne*," the Cheat. Montreal had also a similar warehouse, its "*Friponne*."

The finances of the colony for years, had been in a state of chaos. Specie became so rare, that the authorities attempted to supply a circulating medium by drafts, on the French treasury and paper-money. Bigot's issues, were boundless. When the city fell, the Intendant's bills of exchange on the French treasury, in payment of goods, &c., supplied at Quebec, Montreal and elsewhere, amounted to £500,000 strlg; there was also afloat £4,000,000 strlg. of paper-money. At first four per cent. only was paid on these amounts, but subsequently, says the historian Bibaud, Great Britain succeeded in compelling France to make good to the Canadians, then British subjects, 55 per cent. on the treasury bills and 34 per cent. on the paper-money (*ordonnances*). The colonists lost the balance. If France was too poor to honor her Canadian bills, she had the means to lavish on the courtizan La Pompadour, during her nineteen years of favor with the King, 36,924,140 livres,

Madame la Marquise, on hearing of the downfall of Quebec, joyously exclaimed: "At last the King will have a chance of sleeping in peace," and athiestical

Voltaire, in commemoration of the "loss of the 15,000 acres of snow," which in his eyes constituted Canada, gave a banquet at his castle of Ferney. Never had there been more devotion on the part of a brave but deserted people, to uphold the standard of the mother-country!—Never more baseness, in any parent state than that displayed by France, in deserting her off-spring in dangerous times.

The year 1759, by the results it lead to, is one of the most memorable in Canadian annals. William Pitt had resolved that the flag of old England should float on the bastions of Quebec. Canada was to be invaded at three distinct points by overwhelming forces; the colony cowardly deserted in its hour of trial by a Bourbon, would be left to her own resources. Her fate, as Montcalm had predicted, could not be doubtful long. General Amherst, with about 12,000 men, was to attack the French positions, on Lake Champlain and then descend to the valley of the St. Lawrence. The operations in the direction of Lake Ontario and against Fort Niagara were entrusted to General Prideaux and his able co-adjutor, Sir William Johnston; a narrative of the same falls within the scope of the historian of Canada; our province merely to chronicle the operations of Wolfe's and Montcalm's forces in our immediate neighborhood.

"Quebec," says Hawkins, "is for ever identified with the renown of the two great nations who contended for its possession; and the history of this period will always be referred to, as equally interesting, attractive, and important. The varied incidents of the expedition,—the arrival before the town,—the attack of the fire ships,—the defeat at Montmorency,—the

bombardment from Point Levis,—the landing under the heights of Abraham,—the battle of the Plains,—the death of the two heroic leaders,—the surrender,—the battle of Sillery or Ste. Foye,—the siege by the French,—and the arrival of the English fleet, from a series of spirit-stirring events which possesses the mind of the reader with the eager interest of vicissitudes, as they in turn develop the great game of war, played by the most skilful hands, and for the noblest stake. The scene of this heroic drama,—the actors,—and the event will be for ever memorable. The tale has been handed down by various writers; but to do justice to the narration requires the pen of Wolfe himself, whose style was adorned with all the felicity of Cæsar, and whose celebrated letter to Mr. Pitt is still considered unsurpassed as a military composition.”

“ A brief review of colonial affairs between the peace of Utrecht, in 1713, and the commencement of the campaign of 1759, appears a necessary introduction to the glorious expedition of Wolfe. Notwithstanding the peace of Utrecht, the English Colonists had never forgotten the defeat of Phipps in 1690, or the failure of the expedition of 1711. They still smarted with the irritation occasioned by the inroads of the Indians, in the French interest; and although their hopes of finally curbing the encroachments of the enemy had been often excited and disappointed, they were far from being extinguished. The erection by the French of the strong forts of NIAGARA, TICONDEROGA and CROWN POINT, all in most commanding situations, as a reference to the map will demonstrate,—was viewed by them as an infringe-

ment of the treaty of Utrecht, which provided that no encroachment should be made on territories belonging to the FIVE NATIONS. The attempts, also, made by the emissaries from CANADA, to detach the Indians from the English alliance, naturally exasperated the colonists, and led to the sanguinary conflict which were so frequent about the middle of the eighteenth century.

The peace of AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, in 1748, was in one sense only gratifying to the colonists ; inasmuch as the expense of the successful expedition against Louisbourg, had been reimbursed to them by the British Parliament. But they were disgusted, and with reason, that CAPE BRETON, " their own acquisition " as they proudly termed it, had been restored to France by that treaty. Very soon after the peace, however, the restless spirit of the FRENCH began to display itself. The AMERICAN continent was not destined to enjoy the blessings of internal tranquillity for many years yet to come. The GOVERNOR of CANADA had sent a message to the Indians on the eastern frontier of NEW ENGLAND, dissuading them from any peace with the English ; and on the other side, the French began to enlarge their own and to circumscribe the territories of their rivals. They had constructed a chain of forts at the back of VIRGINIA, PENNSYLVANIA and NEW-YORK. An Englishman taken in OHIO was passed along from fort to fort until he reached Quebec." ¹

Famine, hard times, rumours of war had during the past winter filled with gloom, every hearth and home in the capital, save the gay gambling *salons* of the

¹ Hawkins *Picture of Quebec*, P. 315.

Intendant's Palace. Even there, dark foreshadowings of impending evil at times intruded; occasionally, was seen "the hand on the wall." Let pleasure go its rounds, had said the luxurious master. If the worst comes, even from the ruin of the colony, we may derive benefit, conceal the past and retire abroad to rest and affluence.

On the 10th May, at 7 p. m., the news spread of the return from France of Col. de Bougainville;¹ On landing, he went direct to the Commissary, M. de Bienne, sent for the Intendant, who was in the house of the Town-Major, Hughes Pean; conferred with him privately, but of this interview, nothing was revealed except that people might prepare for startling news.

De Bougainville had taken passage in the French frigate *La Chezine*, Capt. Duclos, which formed part of the large fleet of men-of-war and merchantmen, Mr. Canon was convoying to Quebec.

On the 20th there arrived three frigates and fifteen merchantmen, bringing out the spring importations, together with nine or ten thousand barrels of flour,

¹ This gentleman, having served with much reputation under Montcalm, afterwards became a naval officer, and will be placed by impartial posterity in the first rank of circumnavigators. His merits have been considered as nearly equal to those of the celebrated Captain Cook, whose precursor he was. He was scarcely twenty years of age at the time of the surrender of Quebec, although at that early age in command of nearly two thousand men. He was warmly attached to Montcalm; which was evinced by his well-known application to Mr. Pitt, respecting the erection of a monument to that General. De Bougainville was afterwards Vice-Admiral, a Senator; and was finally killed by a revolutionary mob at Paris, on the 10th August, 1792. He was a brother of de Bougainville, the secretary to the *Académie*, who died in 1763.

with liquors and stores for the King's Commissary; some of the lower-town merchants (Messrs. Mounier and Leez), received the largest supplies for their trade by these arrivals from sea.

On the 28th May, the *Duc de Fronsac* sailed into port.

On the 29th May, a Bayonne frigate, the *Soleil Royal*, made her appearance with flour, peas, maize, brandy.

The inhabitants, on the 1st June, were gladdened by the arrival of the ships of war *Atalante*, 36; *Marie* —, *Pomone*, 32, and *Pie*, loaded with war material; all presaged war! The Capt. of the *Marie* was the first to bring tidings of the approach of the first division of Saunders' fleet, seen near Barnaby Island.

On the 7th June, Mr. Aubert brought tidings of seven ships, at anchor at that island, and Mr. deLery returning on the 8th June, brought the alarming intelligence that the Indians had reported over sixty ships in the river, close to Kamouraska. General Montcalm had returned from Montreal to Quebec, 23rd May—followed shortly after by General Levis. From the end of May to the end of June, considerable works of defence were undertaken, at and near the city.

Notwithstanding, the inadequacy of the relief in recruits and provisions sent out, there was no faint heartedness for the life and death struggle now impending. Though sorely distressed and disheartened, Montcalm was still the Montcalm of Carillon—some of his regulars and militia were the same men who the year previous, on the 8th July had defeated at Ticonderaga, a splendidly equipped English army, more than double their own in

numbers. Stirring appeals were made by the Governor through the pastors in the parishes : all must rush to the rescue of their homes and altars. Old men tottering with years, boys of twelve—the stalwart yeomanry—all flocked to the standard of France. Many wept, on learning that extreme youth or extreme age must exclude them, from the honor of offering their lives on the altar of their country. The enthusiasm was so general, that the duty of tilling the soil, that spring and summer, devolved on the women and children.

How to drill—to discipline—to arm these patriotic volunteers when there was neither time to prepare—nor arms to give out ! and when Wolfe's sturdy, well disciplined squadrons were within sight of the battlements of Quebec !

One of the first orders issued, was one to convert all the French merchantships, in port, either into hulks to place cannon on, in the river St. Charles—or into fire ships to take advantage of the tide and destroy by fire the English vessels. The archives of the country, were removed from the vaults of the Intendant's Palace, to Three Rivers : a number of ladies of the best families were sent to Pointe-aux-Trembles. Orders were issued through the parishes, below Quebec, and in the Island of Orleans, to drive the cattle in the woods and mountains and conceal them with the provisions out of the reach of the English barbarians.

The King's ships were removed higher up than the town : a number of them anchored at Batiscau, the rest at Point Platon, in the Richelieu. Bishop Pontbriand, retired to Charlesbourg : Vaudreuil,

to Montreal,¹ and Bigot, in the Beauport Camp. The town itself, was nearly deserted of its higher orders and officials. A corps of volunteers were organised in the city; also, a cavalry force.

The Quebec Volunteer Cavalry, numbering 200 men, were commanded by one of Montcalm's aide-de-camp, a cavalry officer, Capt. La Roche Beaucourt. In patrolling the heights of Sillery during the summer of 1759, "clothed in blue and mounted, say Knox, on neat light horses of different colours," they had from the fleet, quite a picturesque aspect.

Six hundred militiamen, under the Chevalier de Ramezay, garrisoned the city. The building of the redoubts and defences comprised between the river St. Charles and the Beauport stream, had been placed under the surveillance of Col. de Bougainville; but Levis insisted on extending these works of defence to the falls of Montmorency.

Chevalier de Bernetz was charged with looking after the lower-town, and Vauclain, Captain of the *Atalante* frigate, had the command of the Quebec ships.

The advent of the English vessels, on passing Father Point, was signalised by the old style of telegraphs—a long yard and balls, on the highest points of land: even on our day, we can recall the use made of this primitive mode of telegraphy, when

¹ This nobleman's father had also been Governor General of New France and died in 1725. The son, who surrendered Montreal to General Amherst, had been a Captain in the navy. There was a Marquis de Vaudreuil, who commanded the French fleet in the West Indies, about 1783, to whom Admiral Lord Hood was opposed. If this was the same person with the Governor General, he must at the latter time have been between seventy and eighty years of age.

the English mail reached Halifax and was brought to Quebec, over land, through the lower parishes; King's and other ships were also signalised thus until 1844. Fires at night were also lit, from point to point.

Though the buoys and other land marks were removed early in the spring of 1759, the English had little difficulty in steering their course up the river, having found excellent charts in the French ships they had captured. Over and above the French Canadian pilots they had succeeded in decoying on board of their ships, at Bic, by hoisting French colours, they had the services of an able naval officer, then a prisoner of war in England, and whom they succeeded to bring out with them in the Admiral's ship, some say, under threats if he refused; others, under promise of great rewards. This person was of a distinguished Canadian family, and had been captured by the English men-of-war, the ROCHESTER and SOMMERSET, having to strike his colour before superior force, whilst in command of the French, 32 gun frigate "LA RENOMMÉE." His name was de Vitré. Capt. Mathew Theodosius John de Vitré rendered important services to Saunders, fleet,—received a pension of £200 and an appointment for his son, in the English navy, where he served under Sir Ed. Hughes and Sir Ed. Vernon.

Under French occupation, the channel used by ships sailing up the St. Lawrence, was that on the north side, up to the lower end of the Island of Orleans, where they crossed from Cap Tourmente, at Pointe Argentenay, in the direction of Saint Michel: the present *traverse*, at St. Roch-des-Aulnets

in general use, since the Trinity House has supplied beacons, buoys and light-ships, was scarcely ever then followed ; the deep north shore channel, now so seldom resorted to, being then preferred.

“ A party of British having landed from the fleet on Isle-aux-Coudres, on the 23rd June 1759, some procured horses and insisted on placing an English flag on a height, while others, the sporting characters—started in quest, of game : three,—among whom—Admiral Durell’s son, aged twelve years, were made prisoners of, by a Mr. Derivières, who with a party of Canadians were laying in wait. Hopes had been entertained that these prisoners, subsequently sent to Three Rivers, would be set free, when the thirteen Quebec ladies captured by Major Stobo, at Pointe-aux-Trembles, on the 21st July, were liberated before Quebec, on the 22nd of that month. Such was not the case : these English prisoners merely recovered their liberty, at the surrender of Quebec, they, however, had been well treated and used to praise the Canadian marksmen, who had shot their horses under them, without injuring the riders, at the time of their capture, at Isle-aux-Coudres.

“ It may be here remarked, that as if the destiny of the French rule in North America was about to be accomplished, not the smallest disaster interrupted the progress of the English fleet and army up the St. Lawrence. We have already mentioned the difficulty with which Sir William Phipps made his way from the Gulf, in 1690 ; and have noticed the shipwreck and destruction of part of the fleet under Sir Hovenden Walker in 1711.

"Independent, of an immense fleet of victuallers, traders and other attendants, the English ships of war, frigates, sloops, &c.

Vessels.	Guns.	
Neptune.....	90	Admiral
	(Com.-in-Chief,	Capt.
Princess Amelia.....	80	Admiral
Dublin.....	74	"
Royal William.....	84	Capt.
Terrible.....	74	"
Vanguard.....	74	"
Captain.....	70	"
Shrewsbury.....	74	"
Devonshire.....	74	"
Bedford.....	68	"
Alcide.....	64	"
Somerset.....	68	"
Prince Frederic.....	64	"
Pembroke.....	60	"
Medway.....	60	"
Prince of Orange.....	60	"
Northumberland.....	64	"
Orford.....	64	"
Stirling Castle.....	64	"
Centurion.....	60	"
Trident.....	54	"
Sutherland.....	50	"
Frigates.		
Diana.....	36	"
Leostoffe.....	28	"
Trente.....	28	"
Richmond.....	32	"
Echo.....	24	"
Sloops.		
Seahorse.....	20	"
Eurus.....	22	"
Nightingale.....	20	"
Hind.....	20	"
Squirrel.....	20	"
Scarborough.....	20	"
Lizard.....	28	"
Scorpion.....	14	"
Zépher.....	12	"
Hunter.....	10	"
Porcupine.....	14	"
Baltimore.....	10	"
Cormorant.....	8	"
Pelican.....	8	"
Racehorse.....	8	"
Bonetta.....	8	"
Vesuvius.....	—	"
Strombolo.....	—	"
Rodney, cutter.....	2	"

The Bonetta and Rodney, as also the Charming Molly, Europa, Lawrence, Peggy and Sarah, Good Intent and Prosperity (transport-cutters) were appointed sounding vessels. The prevailing sentimental toast, among the officers was : *British colors on every French fort, port and garrison in America.*"

The Centurion became famous subsequently, as the ship with which Commodore Anson circumnavigated the globe.

The Richmond carried Wolfe and his fortunes.

Such an array of ponderous three-deckers, saucy frigates and smart cutters must have given our port quite a lively appearance at the close of June, 1759.

Amongst those who rendered signal service to Admiral Saunders when he neared Quebec, is the famous navigator Cook.¹

¹ Captain James Cook, was born at Morton, in the County of York ; the parish-register states that he was baptised, November 3, 1728 ; his father was day labourer to Mr. Newburn. In the year 1745, he was apprenticed for four years to a grocer, at Snaith, about ten miles from Whitby ; having discovered a strong propensity for the sea, his indentures were given up. He was afterwards bound for three years, to Mr. Walker, of Whitby, and sailed on board the *Freelove*, a vessel of about four hundred tons, engaged in the coal trade between Newcastle and London. He quitted the merchant service in 1752, and in order to try his fortune as he expressed it, entered on board His Majesty's ship *Eagle*, of 28 guns. Nothing was heard from him by any of his friends, until August, 1758, when a letter was received dated on board the *Pembroke*, before Louisbourg, July, 30, 1758, in which he gave a distinct account of the English success in that expedition. On the recommendation of Sir Hugh Palliser, he received the appointment of Master, and on the 10th May, 1759, joined the *Mercury*, then under orders for Canada. Sir Charles Saunders, at the siege of Quebec, committed to his care services of the first importance. He was the pilot who conducted the boats to the attack at Montmorency, on 31st July, 1759 ; managed the disembarkation at the heights of Abraham and pointed out by buoys how

The night of the 28th June, 1759, according to Captain John Knox, was very serene and calm; five fire ships and two rafts were sent down with the ebb from the lower-town, to destroy the English fleet, lying at anchor near the Island of Orleans. "Nothing, says he, could be more formidable than these infernal engines were on their first appearance, with the discharge of their guns, which was followed by the bursting of grenades, also placed on board in order to convey terror into our army; the enemy, we are told, formed sanguine expectations from this project, but their hopes were happily defeated; some of these dreadful messengers ran on shore, and the rest were towed away clear of our fleet by the seamen, who exerted themselves with great spirit and alertness on the occasion. They were certainly the grandest fire-works (if I may be allowed to call them so), that can possibly be conceived, every circumstance having contributed to their awful, yet beautiful appearance; the night was serene and calm, there was no light but what the stars produced, and this was eclipsed by the blaze of the floating fires issuing from all parts, and running almost as quick as thought, up the masts and rigging; add to this the solemnity of the sable night, still more obscured by the profuse clouds of smoke, with the firing of the cannon, the bursting of

the larger ships might proceed with security up the river. Lord Colville, and Sir Charles, both patronized him, and by their recommendations, he was appointed to survey the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the coasts of Newfoundland. He received a commission as Lieutenant, April, 1st 1760, and was made Captain the 25th April, 1768.

The great mariner whilst engaged in his famous voyages of discovery, was murdered by the south sea Islanders, at Owhyhee on the 14th February, 1779.

the grenades and the crackling of the other combustibles; all which, reverberated through the air, and the adjacent woods, together with the sonorous shouts and frequent repetitions of "ALLS WELL," from our gallant seamen on the water, afforded a scene, I think, infinitely superior to any adequate description." (Knox's Journal, Vol. I, P. 299.)

The Engagement at Beauport Flats, 31 July, 1759.

"As the left bank of the Montmorency," says Garneau, "just beyond its embouchure is higher than the right, Wolfe strengthened the batteries he already had there, the gun-range of which enfiladed, above that river, the French entrenchments. The number of his cannon and pieces for shelling was raised to sixty. He caused to sink, on the rocks level with the flood below, two transports, placing on each when in position, fourteen guns. One vessel lay to the right, the other to the left, of a small redoubt which the French had erected on the strand, at the foot of the Courville road, in order to defend, not only the entry of that road, which led to heights occupied by the French reserve, but also the ford of the Montmorency below the falls. Cannon-shots from the transports crossed each other in the direction of the redoubt. It became needful, therefore, to silence the fire of the latter, and cover the march of the assailants, on this accessible point of our line; therefore the *Centurion*, a 60-gun ship, was sent afterwards to anchor opposite the falls, and as near as might be to the shore, to protect the ford which the British forlorn-hope was to cross, as soon as the attacking force should descend from their camp of

l'Ange-Gardien. Thus 118 pieces of ordnance were about to play upon Montcalm's left wing.

"Towards noon, July 31, all this artillery began to play; and, at the same time, Wolfe formed his columns of attack. More than 1,500 barges were in motion in the basin of Quebec. A part of Monckton's brigade, and 1,200 grenadiers, embarked at Point Levis, with intent to re-land between the site of the *Centurion* and the sunken transports. The second column, composed of Townshend's and Murray's brigades, descended the heights of l'Ange-Gardien, in order to take the ford and join their forces to the first column at the foot of the Courville road, which was ordered to be ready posted, and only waiting for the signal to advance against the adjoining French entrenchments. These two columns numbered 6,000 men. A third corps of 2,000 soldiers, charged to ascend the left bank of the Montmorency, was to pass that river at a ford about a league above the falls, but which was guarded (as already intimated) by a detachment, under M. de Repentigny. At 1 P.M. the three British columns were on foot to execute the concerted plan of attack, which would have been far too complicated for troops less disciplined than Wolfe's.

"Montcalm, for some time doubtful about the point the enemy would assail, had sent orders along his whole line for the men to be ready everywhere to oppose the British wherever they came forward. As soon as the latter neared their destination, De Lévis sent 500 men to succour Repentigny (at the upper ford), also a small detachment to espy the manœuvres of the British when about to cross the lower

ford ; while he sent to Montcalm for some battalions of regulars, to sustain himself in case of need. The general (Montcalm) came up, at 2 P.M., to examine the posture of matters at the left. He proceeded along the lines, approved of the dispositions of De Lévis, gave fresh orders, and returned to the centre, in order to be in a position to observe all that should pass. Three battalions and some Canadians, from Trois-Rivières, came in opportunely to reinforce the French left. The greatest part of these troops took post, as a reserve, on the highway, and the rest were directed on the ford defended by M. de Repentigny. The latter had been already hotly attacked by a British column, but he forced it to give way, after some loss of men. The retreat of this corps permitted that sent to succour Repentigny to hasten back to the arena of the chief attack.

“ Meanwhile, the barges bearing the Point Levis column, led by Wolfe in person, after making several evolutions, meant to deceive the French as to real place for landing, were directed towards the sunken transports. The tide was now ebbing ; thus, part of the barges were grounded on a ridge of rock and gravelly matter, which stopped their progress and caused some disorder ; but at last all obstacles were surmounted, and 1,200 grenadiers, supported by other soldiers, landed on the St. Lawrence strand. They were to advance in four divisions ; and Monckton's brigade, which was to embark later, had orders to follow, and, as soon as landed, to sustain them. From some misunderstanding these orders were not punctually executed. The ennemy formed in columns, indeed ; but Monckton's men did not ar-

rive to time. Still the van moved, music playing, up to the Courville road redoubt, which the French at once evacuated. The enemy's grenadiers took possession of it, and prepared to assail the entrenchments beyond, which were within musket-shot distance. Wolfe's batteries had been pouring, ever since mid-day, on the Canadians who defended this part of the line, a shower of shells and bullets, which they sustained without flinching. Having re-formed, the British advanced, with fixed bayonets, to attack the entrenchments; their showy costume contrasting strangely with that of their adversaries, wrapped as these were in light capotes, and girt round the loins. The Canadians, who compensated their deficient discipline, only by their native courage and the great accuracy of their aim, waited patiently till the enemies were a few yards distant from their line, meaning to fire at them point-blank. The proper time come, they discharged their pieces so rapidly and with such destructive effect,¹ that the two British columns, despite all their officers' endeavours, were broken and took to flight. They sought shelter at first against their foes' fire behind the redoubt; but not being allowed to re-form ranks, they continued to retreat to the main body of the army, which had deployed a little further back. At this critical time, a violent thunderstorm supervened, which hid the view of the combatants on both sides from each other, while the reverbera-

¹ " Their (men of) small-arms, in the trenches, lay cool till they were sure of their mark ; they then poured their shot like showers of hail, which caused our brave grenadiers to fall very fast."—*Journal of a British officer.*

tions of successive peals rose far above the din of battle. When the rain-mist cleared off, the Canadians beheld the British re-embarking with their wounded,¹ after setting fire to the sunken trans-

¹ "As our company of grenadiers approached, I distinctly saw Montcalm on horseback riding backward and forward. He seemed very busy giving directions to his men, and I heard him give the word to fire. Immediately they opened upon us, and killed a good many of our men, I don't recollect how many. We did not fire, for it would have been of no use, as they were completely entrenched, and we could only see the crown of their heads." "We were now ordered to retreat to our boats, that had been left afloat to receive us; and by this time it was low water, so that we had a long way to wade through the mud. A Serjeant Allan Cameron, of our company, seeing a small battery on our left with two guns mounted, and apparently no person near it, thought he would prevent it doing us any mischief on our retreat; so he picked up a couple of bayonets that lay on the beach, and went alone to the battery, when he drove the points of them into the vents as hard as he could, and then snapped them off short.

"When the French saw us far enough on our retreat, they sent their savages to scalp and tomahawk our poor fellows that lay wounded on the beach. Among the number was Lieutenant Peyton, of the Royal American Battalion, who was severely wounded, and had crawled away as far as the pains he endured would allow. After the savages had done their business with the poor fellows that lay nearest to the French batteries, they went back, except two who spied Lieutenant Peyton, and thought to make a good prize of him. He happened to have a double-barreled fusil, ready loaded, and as he had seen how the savage had treated all the others that came into their clutches, he was sure that if they got the better of him they would butcher him also. Fortunately, his presence of mind did not forsake him and he waited until the first savage came near enough, when he levelled his fusil, and brought him to the ground: the other savage, thinking that the Lieutenant would not have time to reload, rushed in upon him boldly, with his tomahawk ready to strike, when Lieutenant Peyton discharged his fusil right into his chest, and he fell dead at his feet. We saw no more of the savages after that, at least on that occasion; but we saw enough of them afterwards.

"While poor Lieutenant Peyton lay upon the ground, almost exhausted from his exertions and loss of blood, he was accosted by

ports. Their army finally drew off, as it had advanced, some corps in the barges; others marched landward, after re-crossing the Montmorency ford. The fire of their numerous cannon, however, continued till night set in; and it was estimated that the British discharged 3,000 cannon-balls during the day and evening; while the French had only a dozen pieces of cannon in action but these were very serviceable in harassing the disembarking British. The loss of the French, which was due almost entirely to artillery fire, was inconsiderable, if we remember that they were for more than six hours exposed to it. The enemy (the English) lost about 500 men, killed and wounded, including many officers.

“The victory gained at Montmorency was due chiefly to the judicious dispositions made by De Lévis, who, with fewer troops in hand than Wolfe, contrived to unite a greater number than he did at every point of attack. Supposing the British grenadiers had surmounted the entrenchments, it is very doubtful whether they would have prevailed, even had they been sustained by the rest of their army. The ground from the strand to the Beauport

Serjeant Cameron, who had no other means of helping him than carrying him away; and he was well able to do it, for he was a stout, strong, tall fellow. He slung the Lieutenant's fusil over his shoulder along with his own, and took him on his back, telling him to hold fast round his neck. As he had a long way to carry him, he was obliged every now and then to lay him down in order to take breath, and give the lieutenant some ease, as his wound was exceedingly painful. In this way he got him at last to one of the boats, and laying him down, said, “Now sir, I have done as much for you as lay in my power, and I wish you may recover.”—*Hawkins's Picture of Quebec.*

road rises into slopes, broken by ravines, amongst which meanders the Courville road ; the locality, therefore, was favorable to the (French) marksmen. Besides, the regulars in reserve were close behind, ever ready to succour the militiamen.

“ General Wolfe returned to his camp, ¹ in great chagrin at the check he had just received. Imagination depicted to his apprehensive mind's eye the unfavorable impression this defeat would make in Britain ; and he figured to himself the malevolent jibes which would be cast at him for undertaking a task which he had proved himself to be incompetent to perform ! He saw vanish, in a moment, all his

¹ “ Small corps of rangers and light infantry, numbering two hundred and four hundred men respectively, were attached to Wolfe's army. They belonged to other regiments serving at that time in America, but not under Wolfe. As their chief duty was to skirmish in the front, or on the flanks of the regiments when marching, and, generally, to perform services requiring audacity and quickness of movement, they were distributed amongst the brigades as occasion demanded. It was between them, principally, and parties of Indians and Canadian militia or volunteers, that the innumerable petty encounters occurred throughout the campaign, of which we read so frequently in the narratives and journals. They often plundered the inhabitants unmercifully, and were guilty of many excesses. Some of these light troops were Anglo-Americans, and conversant with *bush-fighting* and the Indian modes of warfare. As the campaign progressed, an unparalleled spirit of ferocity grew up on both sides, amongst the rangers as well as those similarly employed by the French. Lying in ambush and *scalping* were by no means confined to the Indians. The chief distinction seems to have been this : the Indians scalped indiscriminately all who fell into their hands, while the rangers only scalped the savages and the Canadian scouts found with the Indians, or habited like them. Horrible as it may seem, there can be no doubt but that white men on both sides practised scalping.

The British rangers were commanded by Major Scott and Captain Gorham, the light infantry by Colonel Howe and Major Dalling.

(Miles's *History of Canada*.)

proud illusions of glory ; and Fortune, in whom he had trusted so much, as we have seen, seemed about to abandon him at the very outset of his career as a commander-in-chief. It seemed as if his military perceptions had lost somewhat of their usual lucidity, when, after losing all hope of forcing the camp of his adversary, he afterwards sent Murray, with 1,200 men, to destroy the French flotilla at Trois-Rivières, and to open a communication with General Amherst at Lake Champlain. Murray set out with 300 barges, but did not go far up the country. Repulsed twice at Pointe-aux-Trembles by De Bougainville, who, with 1,000 men, followed his movements, he landed at Sainte-Croix, which place he burnt, as has been already noticed. Thence departing, he fell upon Deschambault, where he pillaged the French officers' baggage. [!] He then retired precipitately, without fulfilling his mission. His incursion nevertheless, much disquieted Montcalm at first; for he set out *incognito* for the Jacques-Cartier, as fearing less the British might take possession of its lower course, gain a firm foothold there, and cut off his communications with western Canada; but learning that the latter were in full retreat when he arrived at Pointe-aux-Trembles, Montcalm retraced his steps.

“After this new repulse, a malady, the germ of which was present in the bodily frame of Wolfe long before, now suddenly developed itself and brought him almost to death's-door. As soon as he convalesced, he addressed a long despatch to Secretary Pitt, recounting the obstacles against which he had to struggle, and expressing the bitterness of his regret at the failure of all his past endeavours. This letter

(if it did little else) expressed the noble devotedness to his country's weal which inspired the soul of the illustrious warrior; and thus the British people were more affected at the sorrow of the youthful captain than at the checks his soldiers had received.

"The spirit of Wolfe, no less than his bodily powers, sank before a situation which left him "only a choice of difficulties;" thus he expressed himself. Calling those lieutenants in aid, whose character and talents we have spoken of, he invited them to declare what might be their opinions as to the best plan to follow for attacking Montcalm with any chance of success; intimating his own belief, also, which was, that another attack should be made on the left wing of the Beauport camp. He was also clear for devastating the country as much as it was possible to do, without prejudicing the principal operation of the campaign."¹

The Battle of the Plains of Abraham, 13th September 1759.

"Any one," says Hawkins, "who visits the celebrated Plains of Abraham, the scene of this glorious fight—equally rich in natural beauty and historic recollections—will admit that no site could be found better adapted for displaying the evolutions of military skill and discipline, or the exertion of physical force and determined valor. The battle-ground presents almost a level surface from the brink of the St. Lawrence to the Ste. Foye road. The *Grande-Allée*, or road to Cape Rouge, running parallel to that of Ste. Foy, passed through its centre,—and was commanded by a field redoubt, in all probability the

¹ *Histoire du Canada*, Garneau.

four-gun battery on the English left, which was captured by the light infantry, as mentioned in General Townshend's letter. The remains of this battery are distinctly seen (1834) near to the present race-stand. There were also two other redoubts, one upon the rising ground, in the rear of Mr. C. Campbell's house (now M. Connolly's)—the death scene of Wolfe—and the other towards the Ste. Foy road which it was intended to command. On the site of the country seat called Marchmont, (the property of John Gilmour, Esquire,) there was also a small redoubt, commanding the intrenched path leading to the Cove. This was taken possession of by the advanced guard of the light infantry, immediately on ascending the heights. At the period of the battle, the Plains were without fences or enclosures, and extended to the walls to the St. Lewis side. The surface was dotted over with bushes, and the woods on either flank were more dense than at present, affording shelter to the French and Indian marksmen.

“In order to understand the relative position of the two armies, if a line be drawn to the St. Lawrence from General Hospital, it will give nearly the front of the French army at ten o'clock, after Montcalm had deployed into line. His right reached beyond the Ste. Foy road, where he made dispositions to turn the left of the English. Another parallel line somewhat in advance of Mr. Chs. Grey Stewart's (now David A. Ross's dwelling) house on the Ste. Foy road, will give the front of the British army, before Wolfe charged at the head of the grenadiers of 22nd, 40th, and 45th regiments, who had acquired the honorable title of the Louisbourg Grenadiers,

from having been distinguished at the capture of of that place, under his own command, in 1758. To meet the attempt of Montcalm to turn the British left, ¹ General Townshend formed the 15th regiment *en potence*, or presenting a double front. The light infantry were in rear of the left, and the reserve was placed in rear of the right, formed in eight sub-divisions, a good distance apart.

“The English had been about four hours in possession of the Plains, and were completely prepared to receive them, when the French advanced with great resolution. They approached obliquely by the left, having marched from Beauport that morning. On being formed, they commenced the attack with great vivacity and animation, firing by platoons. It was observed, however, that their fire was irregular and ineffective, whereas that of the English was so well directed and maintained, as to throw the French into immediate confusion. It must be stated, that although the French army was more numerous, it was principally composed of colonial troops, who did not support the regular forces as firmly as was expected of them—(some of them had not even bayonets.) Montcalm, on his death bed, expressed himself bitterly in this respect. The English troops, on the

¹ The family of General Townshend settled in England, during the Reign of Henry I; and obtained the Manor of Raynham, in the County of Norfolk, which has ever since remained the chief seat of their descendants.

General George Townshend, was the eldest son of Charles, third Viscount Townshend, and was born on the 28th February, 1724, being three years older than Wolfe. He had served in the battles of Dettingen, Culloden, and Lafeldt, previously to that of the Plains. In 1787, he was created Marquis Townshend. He died a Field Marshal, and Colonel of the 2nd Dragoon Guards, in 1807, aged 83.

contrary, were nearly all regulars, of approved courage, well officered and under perfect discipline. The grenadiers burned to revenge their defeat at Montmorency; and it was at their head that Wolfe, with great military tact, placed himself at the commencement of the action.

“About eight o'clock, some sailors had succeeded in dragging up the precipice a light six-pounder, which, although the only gun used by the English in the action, being remarkably well served, played with great success on the centre column as it advanced, and more than once compelled the enemy to change the disposition of his forces. The French had two field pieces in the action. The despatches mention a remarkable proof of coolness and presence of mind, on the part of troops who had no hopes but in victory, no chance of safety but in beating the enemy—for had they been defeated, re-embarkation would have been impracticable. The English were ordered to reserve their fire until the French were within forty yards. They observed these orders most strictly, bearing with patience the incessant fire of the Canadians and Indians. It is also stated that Wolfe ordered the men to load with an additional bullet, which did great execution.

“The two generals, animated with equal spirit, met each other at the head of their respective troops, where the battle was more severe. Montcalm was on the left of the French, at the head of the regiments of *Languedoc*, *Bearne* and *Guienne*—Wolfe on the right of the English, at the head of the 28th, and the Louisbourg Grenadiers. Here the greatest exertions were made under the eyes of the leaders—

the action in the centre and left was comparatively a skirmish. The severest fighting took place between the right of the ~~race-stand~~ and the Martello towers. The rapidity and effect of the English fire having thrown the French into confusion, orders were given, even before the smoke cleared away, to charge with the bayonet. Wolfe exposing himself at the head of the battalions, was singled out by some Canadian marksmen, on the enemy's left, and had already received a slight wound in the wrist. Regardless of this, and unwilling to dispirit his troops, he folded a handkerchief round his arm, and putting himself at the head of the grenadiers, led them on to the charge, which was completely successful. It was bought, however, with the life of their heroic leader. He was struck with a second ball in the groin; but still pressed on, and just as the enemy were about to give away, he received a third ball in the breast, and fell mortally wounded. Dear, indeed, was the price of a victory purchased by the death of Wolfe—of a hero whose uncommon merit was scarcely known and appreciated by his country, before a premature fate removed him for ever from her service. It might have been said of him, as of Marcellus,

Ostendent terris hunc tantùm fata, neque ultrà
Esse sinent. Nimium vobis Romana propago
Visa potens, superi, propria hæc si dona fuissent.

“He met, however, a glorious death in the moment of victory—a victory which, in deciding the fate of Canada, commanded the applause of the world, and classed Wolfe among the most celebrated generals of

ancient and modern times. Happily, he survived his wound long enough to learn the success of the day. When the fatal ball took effect, his principal care was, that he should not be seen to fall.—“Support me,”—said he to an officer near him,—“let not my brave soldiers see me drop. The day is ours, keep it!” He was then carried a little way to the rear, where he requested water to be brought from a neighboring well to quench his thirst. The charge still continued, when the officer—on whose shoulder, ¹ as he sat down for the purpose, the dying hero leaned—exclaimed, “They run!”—“Who runs?” asked the gallant Wolfe, with some emotion. The officer replied,—“The enemy, sir: they give way every where!”—“What?” said he, “do they run already? Pray, one of you go to Colonel Burton, and tell him to march Webb’s regiment, with all speed, down to St. Charles River, to cut off the retreat of the fugitives from the bridge.—Now, God be praised, I DIE HAPPY!” So saying, the youthful hero breathed his last. He reflected that he had done his duty, and he knew that he should live for ever in the memory of a grateful country. His expiring moments were cheered with the British shout of victory,

—pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis.

Such was the death of Wolfe upon the Plains of Abraham, at the early age of thirty-two years! It has been well observed, that “a death more glorious attended with circumstances more picturesque and

¹ The position of the dying hero is faithfully given in West’s celebrated picture.

interesting, is no where to be found in the annals of history." His extraordinary qualities, and singular fate, have afforded a fruitful theme of panegyric to the historian and the poet, to the present day. How they were appreciated by his gallant companions in arms, may be learn by the subjoined extract from a letter written after the battle by General, afterwards Marquis Townshend, to one of his friends in England :—"I am not ashamed to own to you, that my heart does not exult in the midst of this success. I have lost but a friend in General Wolfe. Our country has lost a sure support, and a perpetual honor. If the world were sensible at how dear a price we have purchased Quebec in his death, it would damp the public joy. Our best consolation is, that Providence seemed not to promise that he should remain long among us. He was himself sensible of the weakness of his constitution, and determined to crowd into a few years actions that would have adorned a lengthy life." The feeling and affecting manner in which Wolfe is spoken of in this letter, and its elegance of expression, confer equal honor upon the head and heart of the accomplished writer. The classical reader will agree with us in thinking, that he had in his mind at the time the eulogy of Marcellus which we have quoted above.

The spot consecrated by the fall of General Wolfe, in the charge made by the grenadiers upon the left of the French line, will to the latest day be visited with deep interest and emotion. On the highest ground considerably in advance of the Martello towers, commanding a complete view of the field of

battle—not far from the fence which divides the race-ground from the enclosures on the east, and opposite to the right of the English—are the remains of a redoubt against which the attack was directed which Wolfe so gallantly urged on by his personal example. A few years ago a rock was pointed out, as marking the spot where he actually breathed his last; and in one of the enclosures nearer to the road is the well, whence they brought him water. It is mentioned in the statistical work of Colonel Bouchette, that one of the four meridian stones, placed in 1790 by Majors Holland, then Surveyor General of Canada, “stood in the angle of a field redoubt where General Wolfe is said to have breathed his last.” As he had been conveyed a short distance to the rear after being struck with the fatal ball, it must be presumed that this redoubt had been captured; and that the grenadiers were pressing on, when he received his mortal wound. This is corroborated by a letter which we have met with, written after the battle by an officer of the 28th Regiment, serving at the time as a volunteer with the Louisbourg Grenadiers under Colonel Murray. He speaks of the redoubt in question as “a rising ground,” and shows that Wolfe was in possession of it previously to his last wound: “Upon the general viewing the position of the two armies, he took notice of a small rising ground between our right and the enemy’s left, which concealed their motions from us in that quarter, upon which the general did me the honor to detach me with a few grenadiers to take possession of that ground, and maintain it to the last extremity, which I did until both armies were en-

gaged, and then the general came to me; but that great, that ever memorable man, whose loss can never be enough regretted, was scarce a moment with me till he received his fatal wound."

"The place is now, however, about to be marked to posterity by the erection of a permanent memorial. This act of soldier-like generosity will be duly appreciated: and posterity will have at last amply redeemed their long neglect, and wiped away a reproach of more than seventy years' duration. The Monument in Quebec, common to Wolfe and Montcalm—the stone placed in the Ursuline Convent in honor of the latter—and the smaller column on the Plains, dyed with the blood of Wolfe, will form a complete series of testimonials—honorable to the spirit of the age, and worthy of the distinguished individuals under whose auspices they have been executed.

"The memorial on the Plains now bears the following inscription:

HERE DIED
WOLFE:
VICTORIOUS.

"A death no less glorious closed the career of the brave Marquis de Montcalm, who commanded the army. He was several years older than Wolfe, and had served his King with honor and success in Italy, Germany and Bohemia. In the earlier campaigns of this war, he had given signal proofs of zeal, consummate prudence and undaunted valor. At the capture of Oswego, he had with his own hand wrested a color from the hand of an English officer,

and sent it to be hung up in the Cathedral of Quebec. He had deprived the English, of fort William Henry, and had defeated General Abercromby at Ticonderoga (Carillon). He had even foiled Wolfe himself at Montmorency; and had erected lines which it was impossible to force. When, therefore, he entered the Plains of Abraham at the head of a victorious army, he was in all respects an antagonist worthy of the British general.

“The intelligence of the unexpected landing of Wolfe above the town was first conveyed to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the Governor General about day-break. By him it was communicated without delay to Montcalm. Nothing could exceed the astonishment of the latter at the intelligence; he refused at first to give credence to it, observing: “It is only Mr. Wolfe with a small party, come to burn a few houses about him and return.” On being informed, however, that Wolfe was at that moment in possession of the Plains of Abraham,—“Then,” said he, “they have at last got to the weak side of this miserable garrison. Therefore we must endeavor to crush them by our numbers, and scalp them all before twelve o’clock.” He issued immediate orders to break up the camp, and led a considerable portion of the army across the River St. Charles, in order to place them between the city and the English. Vaudreuil, on quitting the lines at Beauport, gave orders to the rest of the troops to follow him. On his arrival at the Plains, however, he met the French army in full flight towards the bridge of boats; and learned that Montcalm had been dangerously wounded. In vain he attempted to rally them—the route was

general—and all hopes of retrieving the day and of saving the honor of France were abandoned.

“Montcalm was first wounded by a musket shot, fighting in the front rank of the French left,—and afterwards by a discharge from the only gun in the possession of the English. He was then on horseback, directing the retreat—nor did he dismount until he had taken every measure for the safety of the remains of his army. Such was the impetuosity with which the Highlanders, supported by the 58th Regiment, pressed the rear of the fugitives—having thrown away their muskets and taken to their broad swords—that had the distance been greater from the field of battle to the walls, the whole French army would inevitably have been destroyed. As it was, the troops of the line had been almost cut to pieces, when their pursuers were forced to retire by the fire from the ramparts. Great numbers were killed in the retreat, which was made obliquely from the River St. Lawrence to the St. Charles. Some severe fighting took place in the field in front of the Martello Tower, No. 2. We are informed by an officer of the garrison, that, on digging there some years ago, a number of skeletons were found with parts of soldiers’ dress, military buttons, buckles, and other remains.

“It is reported of Montcalm, when his wounds were dressed, that he requested the surgeons in attendance to declare at once whether they were mortal. On being told that they were so—“I am glad of it,” said he. He then enquired how long he might survive? He was answered, “Ten or twelve hours, perhaps less.” “So much the better,” replied he; “then I

shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." On being afterwards visited by M. de Ramesay, who commanded the garrison, with the title of Lieutenant du Roy, and by the Commandant de Roussillon, he said to them: "Gentlemen, I commend to your keeping the honor of France. Endeavor to secure the retreat of my army to-night beyond Cape Rouge: for myself, I shall pass the night with God, and prepare myself for death." On M. de Ramesay pressing to receive his commands respecting the defence of Quebec, Montcalm exclaimed with emotion: "I will neither give orders, nor interfere any further; I have much business that must be attended to, of greater moment than your ruined garrison, and this wretched country. My time is very short—so pray leave me. I wish you all comfort, and to be happily extricated from your present perplexities." He then addressed himself to his religious duties, and passed the night with the bishop and his own confessor. Before he died, he paid the victorious army this magnanimous compliment: "Since it was my misfortune to be discomfited and mortally wounded, it is a great consolation to me to be vanquished by so brave and generous an enemy. If I could survive this, gladly would I would engage to beat three times the number of such forces ¹ as I commanded this morning, with a third of British troops."

"Almost his last act was to write a letter, recommending the French prisoners to the generosity of the victors. He died at five o'clock in the morning

¹ Great jealousy existed in those days between the regulars and the militia—the militia was badly armed, not having even bayonets.

of the 14th September¹; and was buried in an excavation made by the bursting of a shell within the precincts of the Ursuline Convent—a fit resting place for the remains of a man who died fighting for the honor and defence of his country.”

¹ The place of Montcalm's death is yet a mystery. Whither it was at the house of the surgeon Arnoux, in St. Lewis street, at the Horn work, on the St. Charles, at his own residence, on the Ramparts, at the Castle St. Lewis, or at the Ursulines convent, is yet an open question. See *Album du Touriste*, for a dissertation on this subject.

Strength of the French Army at the Battle of Quebec, 13th September, 1759:

RIGHT COLUMN.

Colony troops	550
Regt. of La Sarre	500
Regt. of Languedoc	550
Militia and 1 six pounder	400
	— 2000

CENTRE.

Regiment of Bearn	360
Guienne	360
Militia	1200
	— 1920

LEFT COLUMN.

Regiment Royal Roussillon	650
Colony Troops	650
Militia	2300
	— 3600

Grand Total 7520

The Naval Force of the French consisted of the following vessels:

KING'S FRIGATES.

Guns.

L'Atalante	60
La Pomone	32

MERCHANT VESSELS.

Le Machault	24
Le Seneclere	24
Le Duc de Fronsac	24
Le Bienfaisant	24
The lovely Nancy	24
La Chezine	22

CHAPTER V.

1759—1775.

THE NEW "REGIME."

QUEBEC, A BRITISH CITY. — THE FIRST WINTER, A SEASON OF ALARM. — WANT. — SICKNESS. — GENL. MURRAY'S DEFEAT AT STE. FOYE, 28TH APRIL, 1760. — THE CITY BESIEGED. — A GARRISON MUTINY, 1763. — DISSATISFACTION. — THE QUEBEC ACT, 1774.

De Ramsay's capitulation, on 18th September 1759, brought round a momentous change. From the lofty cape, where for more than one hundred and fifty years, the white flag of France had waived defiantly with but one short interruption (1629-32), now streamed the banner of St. George; a Hanoverian sovereign, who held his sceptre by virtue of the conquest of England, by William the Norman, was called on to rule, by conquest, over a Norman colony. History has many of these mysterious teachings.

Quebec, inside and outside of the walls, was a huge pile of ruins.¹ Upwards of 600 houses, several of

¹ On the 9th November, 1759, Bishop Pontbriand, in a memoir to the Minister of War, in Paris, thus describes the ruined city. "Quebec has been shelled and fired at, during two months; one hundred and eighty houses have been consumed by carcasses; all the rest, riddled by shot and shell. Walls six feet thick have been demolished; the

the most stately edifices—the Roman Catholic Cathedral, the Bishop's Palace, the Intendant's, &c.—were dreary piles of masonry, rendered tenantless by fire or artillery. Out of these wretched homes, once so happy—out of these crumbling public edifices, once so magnificent, quarters must be provided for an army of 7,318 men. It was resolved to rebuild, strengthen the place and mount artillery on the ramparts; the troops were billeted all round, many in the French (artillery) barracks at Palace Gate; some, in the houses on the Esplanade; the stalwart 78th Highlanders, under the hospitable roof of the Ursulines Nuns,

vaults in which private individuals had stored their valuables have been burnt—torn asunder—pillaged during and after the siege. The Cathedral Church has been entirely destroyed by fire. In the Seminary, the only apartment, tenantable is the kitchen, which now shelters the *Curé de Québec* and his *vicaire*. This institution has met with still heavier losses out of the city—the enemy having burnt four farming establishments and three large mills, which constituted nearly all its sources of income. The lower-town Church (*Notre-Dame-des-Victoires*) is wholly destroyed; the Recollets and Jesuits and Seminary's Chapels, cannot be used unless extensive repairs take place. The Ursuline Church alone is fit for divine service, though the English resort to it on extraordinary occasions. That institution and the *Hôtel-Dieu* have grievously suffered, they are without provisions, their farms having been all over run. In spite of all, the nuns have managed to re-occupy them, having spent the summer during the siege at the General Hospital. The *Hôtel-Dieu* is much restricted as to room; the British sick being there. Four years previous, the convent had fallen a prey to flames. The Episcopal Palace (on which site now stand the Parliament Buildings) is nearly annihilated—not one room is tenantable, the vaults have been pillaged. The residences of the Jesuits and Recollets are nearly in the same plight; but the British have made some repairs, so as to lodge their troops there; they also took possession of the town houses, the less shattered.—They even expel the citizens, who have spent money in repairing their dwellings, or else they fill them with so many soldiers that they are compelled to withdraw from those wretched places. The English refuse the paper money of the country—nothing but hard cash

where they wintered. Guards had also been posted in different quarters of the town. Capt. Palliser, with a body of seamen secured, the lower-town. Some of the French prisoners of war were conveyed to France, along with some Quebec merchants and others who could not stomach British rule. The dispirited peasantry came in the city to take the oath of allegiance and deliver up their arms. Admiral Saunders and General Townshend sailed on the 18th October, and the last detachment of the British fleet left the harbor on ¹ the 24th of that month, with Ge-

will do for them. The Priests of the Seminary, the Canons, the Jesuits are dispersed, in the small portion of Canada, which does not yet acknowledge British Rule. Private individuals in the city, are without fuel—without bread—without flour—without meat—; they have to subsist on the small allowance, of pork and biscuit which the English soldiers can spare *for cash*, from their daily rations. Such are the straits of the wealthiest citizens. The parishes are equally denuded of resources—as much a subject of pity as the towns. All the *Côte de Beaupré* and Island of Orleans have been devastated before the close of the siege; the barns, the dwellings of the inhabitants—the *presbytères* (priest's residences) given to the flames; the remaining cattle carried away; those driven higher than Quebec have been seized for the subsistence of our (the French) army, so that the unfortunate peasant, returning to his land, will have to hut his wife and children in a wigwam, indian fashion. The grain harvested on halves will be exposed to rain and snow, as well as their farm cattle; the *caches* made in the woods have been discovered by the enemy (the British). The churches, ten in number, have been spared, but the windows, doors, altars, statues and tabernacles have been destroyed by the foe."

¹ Brigadier General, the Honorable Robert Monckton, was the second son of the first Viscount Galway, by Elizabeth, daughter of John Duke of Rutland, who died in 1730, at the early age of 21, leaving four children. General Monckton was about the same age as Wolfe. The family of Monckton is of great antiquity, having been possessed of Nun Monckton, in Yorkshire, near Boroughbridge, long previous to 1326, when it became a nunnery, called after the family. In 1454, they acquired the Manor of Cavil, which still remains in the family. General Monckton was named Governor of New York, in 1761,

neral Monckton and Colonel Guy Carleton ¹ whose wound was not yet healed. November and its frosts soon set in. December was a trying month—January and February succeeded with their arctic colds and snow storms. The *ice* bridge between the city and Levis took that winter and afforded to the farmers in the early part of the season an opportunity to bring to the British, fresh provisions; the threats of the French commanders, at Fort Jacques-Cartiers, &c.; deterred the Canadian peasants from continuing this lucrative barter. Long and continued use of salt meats, soon produced scurvy, dysentery and fever: in a short time, the question of fuel loomed out ominously.

The supply procured in September from Isle Madame was in less than no time exhausted. In this emergency, the General decided to organise sledge parties: long sleighs or sledges with eight men yoked to each were, dispatched to the wooded

In 1762; he was appointed to the command of eighteen regiments, destined for the attack on Martinique, which was reduced. He afterwards possessed himself by capitulation of the whole of the Windward Islands. He died in 1782, a Lieutenant General in the army. His younger brother, the Honorable John Monckton, died at the patriarchal age of 91, at his seat, Fineshead Abbey, Northamptonshire, on the 2nd January 1830. He was a Colonel in the army, and was dangerously wounded at the battle of the Plains, under Wolfe. In the celebrated picture by West, of the death of General Wolfe, the portrait of Colonel Monckton is represented in the group of officers supporting the body of the dying General.

¹ Colonel Guy Carleton, created afterwards Sir Guy Carleton Knight of the Bath, subsequently Lord Dorchester, was descended from an Irish family of respectable antiquity. He was born at Newry, in 1722. He was many years Governor of this Province, and is remembered with the greatest esteem. In May 1772, he married Maria, daughter of the Earl of Effingham, and died in 1808, aged 86.

heights of Ste. Foye, under protection of a military force; this service which lasted several weeks was attended with much fatigue to the troops. Very soon, scanty supplies—cold,—salt meat, filled the hospitals with patients, suffering from scurvy—frost bites—fever and dysentery. Long was the death roll amongst the men during all that winter; the dead bodies—many there were—of the victims, were deposited under the snow to await interment with the return of spring.

Five hundred and sixty-nine women attached to the regiments kept their health in a wonderful degree—not one (though it seems incredible), having died during this distressing winter; their immunity being due to their constant occupation, such as washing, cooking, nursing the sick and making wads and sandbags for the artillery. On the 28th November, the General set to erect blockhouses of wood, to protect the outskirts of the city and also the post at Point Levis.

Several skirmishes occurred at the outposts during the winter—at Levis—Lorette—Cap Rouge—St. Augustin; all, one excepted, terminating successfully.

"On the 27th of April, about two o'clock, the watch on board the Race Horse Sloop of war, hearing a distressful noise on the river, acquainted Captain McCartney therewith, who instantly ordered out his boat, which shortly after returned with a man, whom they found almost famished, on a float of ice. Notwithstanding all imaginable care was taken of him, he was above two hours before he was able to give an account of himself; when the terrors of his mind had subsided and he could speak, he gave his de-

liverer this intelligence: "That he was a serjeant of the French artillery, who with six other men, were put into a floating battery of one eighteen pounder; that his batteau overset in a great storm; and that his companions were drowned; that he swam and scrambled alternately, through numberless floats of ice, until he met with a large one on which, though with great difficulty, he fixed himself; that he lay on it several hours, passed the town with the tide of ebb, which carried him near to the church of Saint Lawrence, on the Island of Orleans and was driving up again with the tide of flood, at the time the boat happily came to his relief; that the French squadron, consisting of several frigates, armed sloops and other crafts such as galeots, floating batteries and batteaux laden with ammunition, artillery, provisions, entrenching tools and stores of all kinds, were coming down to the Foulon, at Sillery, where they were to join the army under Levis and Bourlamaque, amounting to twelve thousand men; that their fleet particularly the small craft, were separated by a storm, and many vessels were lost: that they believed they would be reinforced by a powerful fleet and army from France, and that they were in the daily expectation of a frigate laden with ammunition and stores, that had wintered at Gaspé." ¹

The Battle of Ste. Foy, and 28th April, 1760.

In the endless and bloody warfare which raged for so many years between the colonists of New England and those of New France, our militia had previously established its efficiency as an auxiliary to regulars.

¹ Smith's *History of Canada*, Vol. I, P. 335.

In the defeat of Abercromby, at Carillon ; of Wolfe, on the Beauport Flats ; of Murray, at Ste. Foy, it had left its mark. Its onset was less fierce than that of the other auxiliaries in those days, the Redskins. It was less handy than them at scalping, but more manageable, more docile. The New Englanders and British troops left this bloody work to the Iroquois, who, it must be confessed, grew very expert at it. The French enlisted, for the nonce, the services of the Hurons, Abenakis, Algonquins, &c. Occasionally the European soldiers tried their hand at it. Capt. John Knox, Wolfe's companion, and one who has never been charged with underrating British success, relates in his journal that the British did a trifle in the scalping line, on the 23rd of August, 1759, at St. Joachim, whose parish priest, with thirty followers, were "scalped and killed," as Knox ingeniously states, "for having disguised themselves like Indians." Knox does not say they were taken for Indians. The grave charges of atrocities freely bandied round by English and French historians, against the rival commanders might be, in nine cases out of ten, traced to the savages they employed as auxiliaries. An Indian under the influence of intoxicating liquors is more like a wild beast than a human being—ready, at the first impulse of the demon lurking in his veins, to slaughter friend or foe. Scalping, although a dangerous experiment, was not always followed by loss of life ; a well-authenticated instance is on record of a scalped Montrealer,¹ who lived fourteen years afterwards. He appears to have been mostly as hardy as the celebrated St. Denis,

¹ *Histoire de la Colonie française au Canada*, Vol. II, P. 121.

who has the credit of having walked about Paris, with his head in his hands after decapitation.

There are so many accounts of the Ste Foye battle. We have the story of eye-witnesses, such as Mante, Knox, Fraser ; also of Chevalier Johnstone, a Scotch Jacobite, fighting in Canada for the cause of France. There is also Smith's account ; and Garneau's narrative, probably the most complete, and collated from documents, many of which had never seen the light before.

He computes the English force at 7,714, exclusive of officers. The French force were more numerous : there were amongst them 3,000 Montreal and Three Rivers militia, and 400 savages ; the Quebec district militia having been compelled by General Murray to swear allegiance to the English monarch during the preceding winter. As a set-off, the English general had from twenty to twenty-two field pieces, and De Lévis had been able to bring through the slush of the Suede swamp, at Ste. Foye, only three small pieces. The battle of the 28th, lasted, according to General Murray, one hour and three-quarters. He acknowledges, in his despatch of the 25th May 1760, to Pitt, having lost one-third of his men, and the French 2,500 ; this would make some 4,000 corpses strewing the environs of the spot where the monument now stands. This ought to be a sufficient answer to those who fancy it was merely a skirmish.

“ The wood whence the French were issuing was 400 yards distant from the enemy's front : now, as the forest soil was marshy, the French could debouch only upon the highway. The space between the wood and the British was not wide enough to allow

De Lévis to form his men and lead them on without disadvantage. His situation thus became difficult, for the hill of Ste. Geneviève and the River St. Charles alike barred his way, if he elected to march on Quebec, either by the road of St. Ambroise or that of Charlesbourg; and the enemy might reach the above eminence before the French, having only the cord of the arc to pass along; he therefore, resolved to attain the Ste. Foye road by a flanking march. Nightfall came, he ordered his troops to defile, on the right, along the skirts of the wood, till they would have got beyond the British front, and turn round their left flank. This manœuvre, if successful, gave him both a good position and a chance for cutting off the corps of observation posted at the Cap Rouge River outlet on the St. Lawrence; but the stormy weather and the difficulty of countermarching at that season with wearied men, prevented the operation being essayed with due celerity. Next day, Murray, who hastened to the imperilled spot, had leisure to extricate his troops with the loss only of their baggage, &c. Becoming pressed in his own retreat, he took shelter in the church of Ste. Foye, which he fired as he left it; and he was finally able to resume his march to Quebec, leaving De Lévis master of a field of battle which he would otherwise have had much difficulty to conquer.

“ The French horsemen dogged Murray’s ¹ retro-

¹ Brigadier General the Honorable James Murray, was of an ancient Scottish family. He was fifth son of the fourth Lord Elibank. After the capture of Montreal, he was for some years Governor of the Province. His published documents show him to have been a man of keen enquiry and observation, just and impartial in his Government, though rather hasty in his temper. He was also at another

grade steps, and skirmished with his rear-guard as far as Dumont's mill. Murray posted a strong guard within the mill, with orders to hold it (if attacked) till night. The French troops took lodging in the houses between the church and the mill. The rain fell, meanwhile, in torrents, and the weather was frightful.

" During the night the British left the mill, fell back on the Buttes-à-Neveu, and began to entrench themselves there. When the day broke, De Lévis. took possession of the mill and the whole plain of Abraham as far as the flood, in order to cover the Anse-du-Foulon (Wolfe's Cove), whither the French vessels, laden with provisions, artillery and baggage, which had not effected their discharge at St. Augustin, had received orders to repair. While this was effecting on the 28th, the French army was to take repose, so as to be ready next day to assail the British at the Buttes, and drive them into the city.

" No sooner, however, was Murray within the walls, than he determined to make a sortie with all his troops; intending either to give battle if an occasion presented, or else to fortify himself at the Buttes-à-Neveu, should De Lévis' force appear to be too considerable to resist in open field; for the report of a French cannoneer (who fell in, while disembarking, descended with the flood, and rescued by some

period Governor of Minorca. He died a General in the army, in June 1794, leaving a son, Colonel James Patrick Murray. General Murray, had purchased extensive properties round Quebec. Among others: the *Sans-Bruit*, farm on the St. Foye road, and the large estate which subsequently passed by sale, to his friend, Lt. Col. Henry Caldwell—known as Belmont—on the St. Foye Road.

British soldiers on guard) left no further doubt in his mind that the force so long spoken of, had now arrived. He left the city in the morning of April 28th, at the head of his whole garrison, the regulars in which, not including officers, alone numbered 7,714 combattants. Excepting some hundred sick in hospital, Murray left in the place only soldiers enough to mount guard, and, with a force 6,000 to 7,000 strong,¹ advanced in two columns, with 22 cannon.

"De Lévis, who rode out, with his staff officers, far in advance of his men to reconnoitre the position of the British on the Buttes-à-Neveu, no sooner perceived this forward movement than he sent orders to his main army to quicken its march towards the Plains of Abraham; Murray, seeing only the French van as yet, resolved to attack it before the soldiers could take breath after their march; but he had to deal with an adversary of mark, and cool temperament withal. The former ranged his troops in advance of the Buttes, his right resting on the hill (*coteau*) of Sainte-Geneviève, and his left touching

¹ Garneau's estimate of the strength of the British, at the battle of St. Foye, has been challenged by subsequent historians. He bases his estimate on Pay-Lists which he quotes.

The English authorities place Murray's army at 3,000.

General Murray, in the letter to Secretary Pitt, says his force was "three thousand men." Colonel Knox states three thousand one hundred and forty; and Colonel Malcolm Fraser, then a lieutenant, and also present in the battle, assigns "about three thousand," of whom, he further states, "one-third had that very day come voluntarily out of the hospitals, and of these about five hundred were employed in dragging the cannon, and five hundred more in reserve, so that we could have had not more than two thousand men in the line of battle."

(Miles's *History of Canada*.)

the cliff (*falaise*) bordering the St. Lawrence ; his entire line extended about six furlongs. Four regiments, under Colonel Burton, formed his right, placed astraddle (*à cheval*) on the road of Ste. Foye. Four regiments, and the Scotch Highlanders, under Colonel Fraser, forming the left, were similarly ranged on the St. Louis road. Two battalions were kept as a reserve ; and besides these last, the right flank of the British army was covered by a corps of light infantry under Major Dalling ; the left flank by Captain Hazzen's company of Rangers and 100 volunteers, led by Captain Macdonald. All being arranged in the form described, General Murray gave orders to advance.

“ The French van, composed of six companies of grenadiers, set in battle order, part on the right, in a redoubt erected by the British, the year preceding, to the eastward of the Anse-du-Foulon ; part on the left, in Dumont's mill the miller's house, the tannery, and other buildings close by, on the road to Ste Foy. The rest of the army, on learning what was going on forward, hastened its march, the men closing ranks as they came near ; but the three brigades were hardly formed, when the British began the attack vigorously.

“ Murray felt the importance of getting hold of Dumont's mill, which covered the passage (*issue*) by which the French were debouching, and he assailed it with superior numbers. He hoped that, by overpowering the grenadiers who defended it, he should be able to fall afterwards upon the centre of the force still on its way, push them far off the line of operation, and cut off the French right wing, hemmed in, as it were, on the St. Louis road.

"Levis, to prevent this design, withdrew his right to the entry of the wood which was in its rear, and caused the grenadiers to evacuate the mill, and fall back, in order to lessen the distance for the arriving brigades. At this turn, Bourlamaque was severally wounded by a cannon-shot, which also killed his horse. His soldiers, left without orders, seeing the grenadiers hotly engaged and overmatched, simultaneously flew to their support, and formed in line just as the enemies bore down on this point in mass with all their artillery ; their field-pieces and howitzers, loaded with ball and grape, playing upon the space occupied by this wing, which staggered under so deadly a fire. The French grenadiers advanced at quick step, re-took the mill after an obstinate struggle, and kept it. ¹ These brave soldiers, commanded by Captain Aiguebelles, almost all perished this day. While those events were passing on the left, de Lévis caused the soldiers to re-capture the redoubt they had evacuated in order to fall back. The Canadians of the Queen's brigade, who occupied that petty redoubt and the pine wood on the margin of the cape, regained their ground and soon charged in turn, supported by M. La Corne de St. Luc and some savages. The combat was not less hot on this line than at the left. All the troops were now in action, and the fire was heavy on both parts. Militia-

¹ With this old windmill is associated one of the most thrilling episodes of the conflict. Some of the French Grenadiers and some of Fraser's Highlanders took, lost, and re-took the mill three times, their respecting officers looking on in mute astonishment and admiration ; while a *Scotch piper*, who had been under arrest for bad conduct ever since 13th Sept., 1759, was piping away within hearing,— so says an old chronicle.—J. M. L.

men were seen to crouch on the ground to load their pieces, rise up after the cannon-shot passed over them, and dash forward to shoot the British gunners. Those of Montreal fought with great courage, especially the battalion led by the brave Colonel Rhéaume, who was killed. The brigade posted in the centre, and commanded by M. de Repentigny, itself arrested on open ground (*rase campagne*) the British centre, when advancing at quick step, and with the advantage of high ground. It also repulsed several charges, and slackened, by its firmness and rapid firing, the enemy when pressing the grenadiers of the left ; thereby facilitating their after-march onward : in fine, this was the only brigade that maintained its ground during the whole time the obstinate struggle lasted.

“ By this time, the attack which gave the British the mastery, for a moment, over the positions occupied by the French van when the fight began, was everywhere repulsed, and our people in re-possession of all the ground they temporarily lost ; Murray’s offensive movement by the road of Sainte-Foye had failed, and that check enabled the French to attack him in their turn.

“ De Levis, observing that the British General had over-weakened his left to strengthen his right, resolved to profit by it. He ordered his troops to charge the enemy’s left wing with the bayonet, and to thrust the British off the St. Louis road on to the Ste. Foye. By this manœuvre he took in flank the whole of Murray’s army, drove the corps off the height of Sainte-Geneviève, and cut off the enemy from the line of retreat to the city. Colonel Poular-

dier dashed forward at the head of the Royal Roussillon brigade, attacked the British impetuously, transpierced their whole mass and put them to flight. At the same time their light troops gave way, and the fugitives, throwing themselves in front and in rear of the enemy's centre, caused his fire to be suspended. De Levis profited by this disorder to cause his own left to charge the British right wing, which the former completely routed.

"Then the whole French army advanced in pursuit of the beaten foe; but as his flight was rapid, the short distance they had to run did not allow of throwing them towards the river St. Charles. De Levis, nevertheless, might have been able to effect this object, but for an order, ill-delivered by an officer, whom he charged to call upon the Queen's brigade to sustain the charge of the Royal Roussillon brigade at the right; and who, instead of causing it to execute the prescribed movement, thus made it take place behind the left wing.

"The enemy left in their victors' hands their whole artillery, ammunition, and the intrenching tools they brought with them, besides a portion of the wounded. Their loss was considerable; nearly a fourth of their soldiers being killed or wounded. Had the French been less fatigued than they were, and assailed the city without allowing the enemy time to recover themselves, it would probably have fallen again under the domination of its former masters, says Knox; for such was the confusion that the British neglected to re-man the ramparts; the sentinels were absent from their posts, when the fugitives sought shelter in the lower-town; even the city gates stood

open for some time. But it was impossible to exact further service from the conquerors. They had to oppose to the fire of the enemy's twenty-two cannons, that of three small pieces, which they painfully dragged across the marsh of La Suède. They, too, experienced great loss, having been obliged to form rank and remain long immoveable under the enemy's fire. A brigadier, six colonels or majors (*chefs de bataillon*) and 97 other officers, with a savage chief, were killed or wounded.

" The numbers of the two contending armies were nearly co-equal, for De Lévis left several detachments to protect his artillery, barges, and the bridge of Jacques-Cartier river, in order to assure himself a way of retreat, in case he were worsted. The cavalry took no part in the action.

" The savages, who were nearly all in the wood behind during the fight, spread over the vacated battle-field, when the French were pursuing the enemy, and felled many of the wounded British, whose scalps were afterwards found upon the neighboring bushes. As soon as De Lévis was apprised of this massacre, he took vigorous measures for putting a stop to it. Within a comparatively narrow space, nearly 2,500 men had been struck by bullets : the patches of snow and icy puddles on the ground were reddened with the bloodshed that the frozen ground refused to absorb ; and the wounded survivors of the battle and of the butchery of the savages were immersed in pools of gore and filth, ankledeep.

" The transport of the wounded, which took up much time, formed the concluding act of the san-

guinary drama performed this day. The wounded were borne to the General Hospital, the distance to which was much increased by the deviations from the straight way to it that had to be made. 'It wants another kind of pen than mine,' wrote a *religieuse* from the house of suffering, 'to depict the horrors we have had to see and hear, during the twenty-four hours that the transit hither lasted, the cries of the dying and the lamentations of those interested in their fate. A strength more than human is needful at such a time, to save those engaged in tending such sufferers from sinking under their task.

"After having dressed more than 500 patients, placed on beds obtained from the King's magazines, there still remained others unprovided with resting-places. Our barns and cattle-sheds were full of them. * * * We had in our infirmaries seventy-two officers, of whom thirty-three died. Amputations of legs and arms were going on everywhere. To add to our affliction, linen for dressing ran out, and we were fain to have recourse to our sheets and chemises. * * * * *

"It was not with us now, as after the first battle, when we could have recourse for aid, to the *Hospita-lières*, of Quebec * * * the British having taken possession of their house, as well as those of the Ursulines and private dwellings, for the reception of their wounded, who were even in greater number than ours. There were brought to us, twenty British officers whom their own people had not time to carry away, and whom we had to take charge of * * *

"After the action, which lasted three hours, the French took post on the Buttes-à-Neveu, and esta-

blished their camp on the same plains where they had just so gloriously avenged their defeat thereupon in the preceding year."

De Levis' triumph did not last long. On the evening of the battle, he broke ground within 600 or 700 yards of the walls, and next day commenced to bombard the town, but without producing much effect. On the night of the 15th May, news was received of the approach of the English squadron from Halifax, and de Levis abandoned the siege with great precipitation, leaving his whole battering train, camp and camp furniture, entrenching tools, &c., behind him. He was pursued and several prisoners taken, and thus ended the French attempt to retake Quebec. The brave garrison pent up amid a hostile population, and worn down by service and sickness, welcomed the succor with that grateful joy which might be expected from men in their position.

The capitulation of Quebec on 18th September 1759, followed by the surrender of Montreal, on 8th September 1760, changed entirely the face of matters, in North America. France was stripped of nearly all her North America colonies, with the exception of Saint-Pierre de Miquelon, on which she could land and dry her fish. Louisiana was ceded to Spain, in exchange for Florida and the Bay of Pensacola "which the Spainards gave up to Britain, to recover Cuba."

From 1760 to 1764, the only tribunal in the city, to try civil and criminal cases, was a council composed of Governor Murray's chief military officers, over whom he claimed the right to appoint. Hector Theophilus Cramahé, of French Swiss origin, he

choose for his secretary, and as a medium between the ruler and the ruled. Mr. Cramahé who remained in Quebec many years, did not win much favor with the French, who had decided to have as little to do as possible, either with the Governor or his courts of justice, preferring to leave the adjusting of their law business to their *seigneurs* and captains of militia, with the *Curé* of the parish, as a frequent and trusted adviser, on the more knotty points.

Quebec, under Bourbon Kings, was a fortress—a military settlement; the Jesuits College and *Séminaire des Missions Etrangères*, were considered sufficient for all purposes of enlightenment and education; the British, after conquering the country, would have been unhappy without a Press. We shall not go so far as to call it a Free Press—it was not.

On the 21st June 1764 appeared, with matter half English and half French, the first number of the *Quebec Gazette*, started by Messrs. Brown and Gilmour, with a subscription list of 150 names. As the worthy printers were commanded to abstain from commenting on public event, scarcely a glimpse of public opinion lights up its columns up to the year 1800. The archives about this time enregister a number of land grants, in and round Quebec, to British officers, who had served in the last war, or to political favorites. Governor Murray,¹ though a stern, seems to have

¹ General Murray, on returning to England, in 1766, addressed the lengthy despatch to the King's advisers, of which, we shall extract the following :

“ There are nineteen protestant families in the parishes ; the rest of that persuasion (a few halfpay officers excepted) are traders, mechanics, and publicans who reside in the lower-towns of Quebec

been a just ruler; he evidently was badly off for advisers and draws a very unattractive picture of the British element, which the conquest had brought to Quebec, in quest of wild lands or for commercial purposes. These were denominated the King's old subjects, and as such, claimed a species of monopoly of loyalty, superiority of intelligence and bravery over the remnants of the French, denominated the

and Montreal. Most of them were followers of the army, of mean education, or soldiers disbanded at the reduction of the troops. All have their fortunes to make, *and I fear, few are solicitous about the means, when the end can be attained.* I report them to be in general, the *most immoral* collection of men I ever knew: of course, little calculated to make the new subjects enamoured with our laws, religion and customs; and far less, adapted to enforce these laws, which are to govern.

“ On the other hand, the Canadians, accustomed to arbitrary, and a sort of military government, are a frugal, industrious and moral race of men, who, from the just and mild treatment they met with from his Majesty's military officers, that ruled the country for four years, until the establishment of civil Government, had greatly got the better of the natural antipathy they had to their conquerors.

“ They consist of a *noblesse* who are numerous, and who pique themselves much upon the antiquity of their families, their own military glory, and that of their ancestors. These noblesse are seigniors of the whole country, and though not rich, are in a situation in that plentiful part of the world, where money is scarce, and luxury still unknown, to support their dignity. Their tenants who pay only an annual quit-rent of about a dollar for one hundred acres, are at their ease, and comfortable. They have been accustomed to respect and obey their noblesse; their tenures being military in the feudal manner, they have shared with them the dangers of the field, and natural affection has been increased in proportion to the calamities which have been common to both, from the conquest of the country. As they have been taught to respect their superiors, and are not yet intoxicated with the abuse of liberty, they are shocked at the insults which their noblesse and the King's officers have received from the English traders and lawyers, since the civil Government took place. It is natural to suppose they are zealous of their religion. They are

NEW subjects, who had remained at Quebec. There were certainly some individuals of mark and intelligence amongst the British officials. Men like the Attorney General Mazères, would have been an honor to any country.

A remarkable mutiny happened at Quebec on the 18th September 1763. General Murray, having given orders, in consequence of injunctions from the Commander-in-Chief in America, that four pence sterling should be stopped for each ration of provisions to be issued to the forces, under his command, consisting of

very ignorant : it was the policy of the French Government to keep them so ; few or none can read. Printing was never permitted in Canada, till we got possession of it. Their veneration for the priesthood is in proportion to their ignorance ; it will probably decrease as they become more enlightened.

" The Canadian noblesse were hated because their birth and behaviour entitled them to respect ; and the peasants were abhorred, because they were saved from the oppression they were threatened with. The resentment of the Grand Jury, at Quebec, put the truth of these remarks beyond doubt. (The Grand Jury presented the Roman Catholics, as a nuisance on account of their religion, &c.)..... The improper choice and numbers of the civil officers sent out from England, increased the inquietudes of the colony. Instead of men of genius and untainted morals, the very reverse were appointed to the most important officers ; and it was impossible to communicate, through them, those impressions of the dignity of government, by which alone mankind can be held together in society. The judge fixed upon to conciliate the minds of 75,600 foreigners to the laws and government of Great Britain, was taken from a goal, entirely ignorant of civil law, and of the language of the people. The Attorney-General, with regard to the language of the people was not better qualified. The offices of secretary of the province, register, clerk of the council, commissary of stores and provisions, provost martial, &c., were given by patent to men of interest, in England, who let them out to the best bidders ; and so little did they consider the capacity of their representatives, that not one of them understood the language of the natives. "

the 15th, 27th Regiments, and 2nd battalion of the 60th Regiment. Through the firmness of the General and devotedness of his officers, this formidable mutiny was quelled without any effusion of blood.¹

From 1773 to 1774, no local incident of note occurred in the city; politics and constitutional changes engrossed the public mind. In 1774, England passed the *Quebec Act*, which whilst it gave offence to the New England Provinces by enlarging the boundaries of Canada, caused much dissatisfaction amongst

“ The treaty of 10th February, 1763, says Garneau, dispelled the last illusion of Montcalm's followers: “ Some of those who had already filled high charges, were appointed to like posts in distant French dependencies. Thus M. de Repentigny, created Marquis and became a brigadier-général, was appointed Governor of Senegal, then of Mahé, in French India, where he died in 1776. M. Dumas became Governor of the Mauritius and Isle of Bourbon. M. de Beaujeu accompanied Lapeyrouse, as aid-major-general, against the British Hudson's Bay settlements, in 1782. The Marquis de Villeray made Captain in the royal guards, may also be noted; also M. Juchereau (Duchesnay), commandant of Charleville, M. Le Gardeur, Count de Tilly, Messrs. Pellegrin (Harbour Master) de l'Echelle, La Corne, became post-captains in the French navy. The Count de Vaudreuil, as Admiral during the American war for Independence, distinguished himself, Jacques Bedout, a native of Quebec, became a distinguished Rear Admiral; Joseph Chaussegros de Léry, military engineer, was made a Baron by Napoleon I, for his great services. Other Canadian officers, not actively employed, yet pensioned by the Government, lived together in Tadoussac. Canadian and Acadian refugees in France, were succoured even by republicans of 1792.

“ Those of them who remained in Canada, trusting to the promises of the British, that civil rule should obtain, sent agents to London to proffer homage to George III, and defend their interests. When Chevalier de Léry and his wife, Louise de Brouages, one of the finest women of the time, was presented at Court, the young King was so struck with *Madame's* beauty, that he said: “ If all the Canadian ladies resemble her, we have indeed made a conquest.” (Garneau, *Histoire du Canada*.)

¹ Smith, *History of Canada*, Vol. 1.

the puritanical population of New England, by the facilities it gave the mass of French Canadians to practice in peace their religion and return to their old laws. It was not only just to the conquered race, under the terms of the capitulation;—from an imperial point of view, it was a sound policy amidst the increasing discontent of the subjects of Britain in the adjoining Provinces; it bore in time good fruits.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BLOCKADE OF QUEBEC.

1775—1791

GUY CARLETON. — MONTGOMERY AND ARNOLD. — HALDIMAND. — LORD DORCHESTER. — ANNUAL DINNER IN COMMEMORATION OF MONTGOMERY AND ARNOLD'S REPULSE IN 1775. — SYMPATHY OF ENGLISH AND FRENCH TOWARDS ENGLAND. — SUBSCRIPTIONS TO HELP ENGLAND AGAINST THE FRENCH.

Of the five sieges (1629—1690—1759—1760 and 1775), which it has been the fate of the town to encounter, none were more protracted; none, pushed with more spirit and apparent prospect of success, than the blockade of the city, by the two armies, sent by Congress, in the autumn of 1775, under the advice of the illustrious George Washington. Had the fate of Canada on that occasion been confided to a Governor less firm—less wise—less conciliating than Guy Carleton, doubtless the “brightest gem in the colonial crown of Britain would for the last century have been one of the stars, on Columbia's banner: the star-spangled streamer would now be floating on the summit of Cape Diamond.

Soon after the conquest of Canada by British arms, a growing sense of power, and security from the sword of the hitherto restless French Canadian *Gentilhomme*—a craving for a freer system of government, gradually took possession of the numerous and hardy colonists in the New England Provinces. This was apparent as early as 1754, by the convention at Albany. Metropolitan misrule fanned the flames; a few years later, open war existed;—our own province was invaded at different points.

In September 1775, two able generals leading hardy soldiers were on the war path, to win a much coveted prize: Quebec.

Fort after fort—town after town—Ticonderoga, Crown Point, Saint John, Chambly, Montreal, Sorel, Three Rivers, had hoisted the white emblem of surrender: all Canada had accepted the law of the invader. No, not all; the area enclosed by our city walls had not. One flag, still streamed defiantly to the breeze: the banner of St. George on the citadel of Quebec; though the red and black flag of rebellion hung over our suburbs; and though American riflemen were thundering at our gates.

To the French Canadian subjects, whose forced allegiance was scarcely sixteen years old, the most seductive promises had been held out by Congress—France, their ancient mother-country publicly sympathised with Congress. To the English, most powerful appeals had been conveyed openly and secretly, by fellow-subjects, men of their blood—and language—and religion; hailing across the border, from Boston—from New York—from Philadelphia. At one time, there was dissatisfaction outside of the

walls—lukewarmness and treason within. Never had a braver little garrison to contend against greater odds, with no help possible, from Britain. Never a dauntless leader to accept a more unequal contest.

The following narrative of the one of the main incidents of the blockade is borrowed chiefly from the addresses on the subject, delivered before the members of the *Literary and Historical Society* of Quebec, on the evening in December 1875, when the centennial of this momentous event was celebrated. Let us hear Lt.-Col. Bland Strange, Inspector of Dominion Artillery and Commandant of the Quebec Citadel, review the episode connected with General Montgomery's repulse:

"In 1775, the Titanic contest commenced, in which England found herself pitted against France, Spain, and her own children.

"From that year until 1783, the student of her Military history, finds his labour incessant. America and Europe alike claim his attention." The war of Independence, and the sieges of Gibraltar and Quebec, show how the grim Old Lion stood at bay when assailed, even by his own brood. Unfortunately, there are few campaigns in English history which have been more systematically misunderstood, and more deliberately ignored, than the American war between 1775 and 1783. The disadvantages under which the British troops laboured were many and great.

Preparations for the Defence.

"When," says James Thompson, "the Americans invaded Canada, in 1775, I received the orders of

General Carleton, afterwards Guy, Lord Dorchester, to put the extensive fortifications of Quebec in a state of defence at a time when there was not a single article of material in store with which to perform such an undertaking. I was consequently authorized to purchase all that was needful, and to prosecute the work with the greatest dispatch. My first object was to secure stout spar timber for palisading a great extent of open ground between the gates called Palace and Hope, and again from Cape Diamond half-bastion, along the brow of the cape, towards the Castle St. Lewis.

“I began at Palace Gate palisading with loop-holes for musketry, and made a projection in the form of a bastion, as a defence for the line of pickets, in the gorge of which I erected a block-house, which made a good defence. While employed at this station of the works, a company of artificers arrived from Halifax, and another company from Newfoundland joined me soon after. The Halifax men, I set to work at palisading the open ground on Cape Diamond, and framing and erecting a large block-house on the outside of Port St. Louis, to serve as a captain's nightly guard-house, in order to be prepared against a surprise, also a block-house on the cape, under Cape Diamond bastion ; at the same time, a party was employed in laying platforms and repairing embrasures. I also had a party of the carpenters barricading the extremities of the lower-town, by blocking up all the windows of the houses next to the river side, and those facing the water, leaving only loopholes for musketry, as a defence in case the St. Lawrence should freeze across.

The Invasion 1775.

“ On the 3rd November 1775, Colonel Arnold, with a party of upwards of seven hundred Americans, came out of the woods at the settlements on the River Chaudière ; and on the 9th they marched to Point Lévis, where they shewed themselves on the bank, immediately opposite the town of Quebec. On the 14th, in the night, they passed across the St. Lawrence, and paraded in front of Port St. Louis, at about three hundred yards distance, where they saluted the town with three cheers, in full expectation, no doubt, that the gates would be opened for their reception. At this juncture, I was on Cape Diamond bastion, and levelled and fired a 24-pounder at them, which had the effect of making them disperse hastily and retire to Pointe-aux-Trembles.

“ On the 5th December General Montgomery, their chief commander, came with troops from Montreal, and joined Arnold, making their headquarters at St. Foye. They sent in a flag of truce, which General Carleton utterly disregarded, declaring that he would not have any communication with rebels, unless they came to claim the King's mercy. Montgomery was then induced to try his strength by erecting a six-gun battery in front of St. John's Gate ; a battery of two guns on the off-side of River St. Charles ; and one of four guns on the Point Lévis side, none of which did us any material injury. At this time, the nights being dark, I strongly recommended the use of lanterns extended on poles from the salient angles of all the bastions. By means of these lights, even a dog could be distinguished if in the great ditch, in the darkest night. This we

continued during the absence of the moon, with the exception of a composition burned in iron pots substituted for candles."

"On the 17th September 1775, Brigadier General Richard Montgomery, who had formerly been in the British service, appeared at the head of an army, before the Fort of St. John's ; which, after a gallant defence, surrendered on the 3rd November, the garrison marching out with the honors of war. Mr. Louis de Salaberry, was desperately wounded in the defence by an American shell. The fort of Chambly also surrendered ; Montreal, which was entirely defenceless, capitulated on the 12th November ; and General Carleton, conceiving it of the utmost importance to reach Quebec, the only place capable of defence, passed through the American force stationed at Sorel, during the night, in a canoe with muffled paddles, and arrived in Quebec on the 19th, to the great joy of the garrison and loyal inhabitants, who placed every confidence in his well-known courage and ability. Capt. Bouchette, contrived and executed the escape of the Governor through the American lines dressed as a peasant.

"While the province was thus threatened with subjugation on the side of Montreal, a new danger presented itself from a quarter so entirely unexpected, that until the particulars were ascertained, the fears and superstitions of the inhabitants of the country parishes had ample subject for employment and exaggeration. An expedition of a singular and daring character had been successfully prosecuted against Quebec from the New England States, by a route which was little known and generally considered

impracticable. This expedition was headed by Colonel Arnold, an officer in the service of Congress; who with two regiments, amounting to about eleven hundred men, left Boston about the middle of September, and undertook to penetrate through the wilderness to Point Levis, by the means of the Rivers Kennebec and Chaudière.

“The spirit of the enterprise evinced in this bold design, and the patience, hardihood and perseverance of the new raised forces employed in the execution, will forever distinguish this expedition in the history of offensive operations. A handful of men ascending the course of a rapid river, and conveying arms, ammunition, baggage, and provisions through an almost trackless wild—bent upon a most uncertain purpose—can scarcely be considered, however, a regular operation of war. It was rather a desperate attempt, suited to the temper of the fearless men engaged in it, the character of the times, and of the scenes which were about to be acted on the American continent.

“On the 22nd September, Arnold embarked on the Kennebec River in two hundred batteaux; and notwithstanding all natural impediments—the ascent of a rapid stream—interrupted by frequent *portages* through thick woods and swamps—in spite of frequent accidents—the desertion of one-third of their number—they at length arrived at the head of the River Chaudière, having crossed the ridge of land which separates the waters falling into the St. Lawrence from those which run into the sea. They now reached Lake Megantic, and following the course of the Chaudière River, their difficulties and privations,

which had been so great as on one occasion to compel them to kill their dogs for sustenance, were speedily at an end. After passing thirty-two days in the wilderness, they arrived on the 4th November at the first settlement, called *Sertigan*, twenty-five leagues from Quebec, where they obtained all kinds of provisions.

"On the 8th, Colonel Arnold arrived at Point Levis, where he remained twenty-four hours before it was known at Quebec; and whence it was extremely fortunate that all the small craft and canoes had been removed by order of the officer commanding the garrison. On the 13th, late in evening, they embarked in thirty-four canoes, and very early in the morning of the 14th, he succeeded in landing five hundred men at Wolfe's Cove, without being discovered from the *Lizard* and *Hunter*, ships of war. The first operation was to take possession of what had been General Murray's house on St. Foye Road (*Sans Bruit*), and of the General Hospital. They also placed guards upon all the roads, in order to prevent the garrison from obtaining supplies from the country.

"The small force of Arnold prevented any attempt being made towards the reduction of the fortress until after the arrival of Montgomery from Montreal, who took the command on the 1st December, and established his head-quarters at Holland House. On his arrival Arnold is said to have occupied the house near Scott's Bridge, to the east (the former homestead of the Langlois family).

"The arrival of the Governor on the 19th November had infused the best spirit among the inhabitants of

Quebec. On the 1st December, the motley garrison amounted to eighteen hundred men—all, however, full of zeal in the cause of their King and country, and well supplied with provisions for eight months. They were under the immediate command of Colonel *Allan MacLean* of the 84th Regiment or Royal Emigrants, composed principally of those of the gallant Fraser's Highlanders who had settled in Canada.

STATEMENT OF THE GARRISON, 1ST DECEMBER, 1775.

- 22 Royal Artillery, 8rd Comp. 4th Battalion, now No. 8 Battery 2nd Brigade, at Ceylon, truly is their services like their motto "*Ubique quo fas et gloria ducunt*." Capt. Jones, commanded the Artillery of the defence, his services I find in the records of my Regiment, "received the highest praise," though he has not been noticed in the local records.
 - 70 Royal Fusiliers, or 7th Regiment.
 - 280 Royal Emigrants, or 84th Regiment.
 - 830 British Militia, under Lt.-Col. Caldwell.
 - 548 Canadians, under Col. Dupré.
 - 400 Seamen under Cpts. Hamilton and Mackenzie.
 - 50 Masters and Mates.
 - 85 Marines.
 - 120 Artificers, under Mr. James Thompson, Act.-Engineer, formerly of Fraser's Highlanders.
-
- 1800 Total bearing arms.

"The siege, or rather the blockade, was maintained during the whole month of December. The Americans were established in every house near the walls, more particularly in the Suburb of St. Roch, near the Intendant's Palace. Their riflemen, secure in their

excellent cover, kept up an unremitting fire upon the British sentries, wherever they could obtain a glimpse of them. As the Intendant's Palace was found to afford them a convenient shelter, from the cupola of which they constantly annoyed the sentries, a nine pounder was brought to bear upon the building; and this once splendid and distinguished edifice was reduced to ruin, and has never been rebuilt. The enemy also threw from thirty to forty shells every night into the city, which fortunately did little or no injury either to the lives or the property of the inhabitants. So accustomed did the latter become to the occurrences of a siege, that at last they ceased to regard the bombardment with alarm. In the meantime, the fire from the garrison was maintained in a very effective manner upon every point where the enemy were seen. On one occasion, as Montgomery was reconnoitring near the town, the horse which drew his cariole was killed by a cannon shot.

“During this anxious period the gentry and the inhabitants of the city bore arms, and cheerfully performed the duties of soldiers. The British Militia were conspicuous for zeal and loyalty, under the command of Major Henry Caldwell, who had the provincial rank of Lieutenant Colonel. He had served as Deputy Quarter Master General with the army under General Wolfe, and has settled in the Province, after the conquest. The Canadian Militia within the town was commanded by Colonel Le-compte Dupré, an officer of great zeal and ability, who rendered great service during the whole siege.”

“General Montgomery, despairing to reduce the place by a regular siege, resolved on a night attack,

in the hope of either taking it by storm, or of finding the garrison unprepared at some point. In this design he was encouraged by Arnold, whose local knowledge of Quebec was accurate, having been acquired in his frequent visits for the purpose of buying up Canadian horses. The intention of Montgomery soon became known to the garrison, and General Carleton made every preparation to prevent surprise, and to defeat the assault of the enemy. For several days the Governor, with the officers and gentlemen, off duty, had taken up their quarters in the Récollet Convent, where they slept in their clothes. At last, early in the morning of the 31st December, and during a violent snow storm, Montgomery, at the head of the New York troops, advanced to the attack of the lower town, from its western extremity, along a road between the base of Cape Diamond and the river. Arnold, at the same time, advanced from the General Hospital by way of St. Charles street, The two parties were to meet at the lower end of Mountain street, and when united were to force Prescott Barrier. Two feint attacks in the mean time on the side towards the west, were to distract the attention of the garrison. Such is the outline of this daring plan, the obstacles to the accomplishment of which do not seem to have entered into the contemplation of the American officers, who reckoned too much upon their own fortune and the weakness of the garrison.

“ When, at the head of seven hundred men, Montgomery had advanced a short distance beyond the spot where the inclined plane has since been constructed in building the modern citadel, he came to a narrow defile, with a precipice towards the river on the one

side, and the scarp'd rock above him on the other. This place is known by the name of *Près-de-Ville*. Here all further approach to the lower town was intercepted, and commanded by a battery of three pounders placed in a hangard to the south of the pass. The post was entrusted to two officers of Canadian militia, Chabot and Picard, whose force consisted of thirty Canadians and eight British militiamen, with nine British seamen to work the guns, as artillerymen, under Capt. Barnsfare, and Sergt. Hugh McQuarters, of the Royal artillery. (I believe in accordance with the immemorial usage of the British army to have a trusty N. C. O. of artillery at every guard where there was a gun.) Captain Barnsfare was master of a transport, laid up in the harbour during the winter. At day-break, some of the guard, being on the look out, discovered, through the imperfect light, a body of troops in full march from Wolfe's Cove upon the post. The men had been kept under arms waiting with the utmost steadiness for the attack, which they had reason to expect, from the reports of deserters; and in pursuance of judicious arrangements, which had been previously concerted, the enemy was allowed to approach unmolested within a small distance. They halted at about fifty yards from the barrier; and as the guard remained perfectly still, it was probably concluded that they were not on the alert. To ascertain this, an officer was seen to approach quite near to the barrier. After listening a moment or two, he returned to the body, and they instantly dashed forward at double quick time to the attack of the post. This was what the Guard expected; the artillerymen stood by with lighted

matches, and Captain Barnsfare at the critical moment giving the word, the fire of the guns and musketry was directed with deadly precision against the head of the advancing column. The consequence was a precipitate retreat—the enemy was scattered in every direction—the groans of the wounded and of the dying were heard, but nothing certain being known, the pass continued to be swept by the cannon and musketry for the space of ten minutes. The enemy having retired, thirteen bodies were found in the snow, and Montgomery's Orderly Sergeant desperately wounded, but yet alive, was brought into the guard room. On being asked if the General himself had been killed, the sergeant evaded the question, by replying that he had not seen him for some time, although he could not but have known the fact. This faithful sergeant died in about an hour afterwards. It was not ascertained that the American General had been killed, until some hours afterwards, when General Carleton, being anxious to ascertain the truth, sent an aide-de-camp to the Seminary, to enquire if any of the American officers, then prisoners, would identify the body. A field officer of Arnold's division, who had been made prisoner near Sault-au-Matelot barrier, consenting, accompanied the aide-de-camp to the *Près-de-Ville* guard, and pointed it out among the other bodies, at the same time pronouncing, in accents of grief, a glowing eulogium on Montgomery's bravery and worth. Besides that of the General, the bodies of his two aides-de-camp were recognized among the slain. The defeat of Montgomery's force was complete. Col. Campbell, his second in command, immediately relinquished the

undertaking, and led back his men with the utmost precipitation.

“The exact spot where the barrier was erected before which Montgomery fell, may be described as crossing the narrow road under the mountain, immediately opposite to the west end of a building which stands on the south, and was formerly occupied by Mr. Racey, as a brewery, now Allans’ stores. At the time of the siege this was called the Potash. The battery extended to the south, and nearly to the river. An inscription commemorating the event has been placed upon the opposite rock above, with the words: “HERE MONTGOMERY FELL.”

When a duty has been faithfully performed, it is difficult and almost impossible to parcel out the praise and label each hero on the spot, doubly difficult after the lapse of a hundred years.

“When the brave hearts are dust,”

“And their good swords are rust,”

Enough. They did “What England expects of every man”—Their duty—!

“Sanguinet, a French Canadian contemporary, puts the number of guns at 9, and the American slain at 36. He was not, however, himself at Quebec during the siege, but at Montreal.

“The ancestor of Lt.-Col. Coffin, a Loyalist gentleman Volunteer, appears to have acted with great promptitude and decision, and Col. Allan McLean afterwards credits him with a great portion of the success, at *Près-de-Ville*.

“The following interesting and reliable particulars, are given by with Mr. James Thompson, who began his military career as a Gentleman Volunteer

in the 78th Highlanders, was Overseer of Works during the siege. He died full of years and honors, on the 30th August 1830, "if honor consists in a life of unblemished integrity."

"The sword of Montgomery, in the keeping of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, is an heirloom in the family of his descendant, Mr. James Thompson Harrower, of Quebec.

"General Montgomery was killed on the occasion of his heading a division of American troops, while moving up to the assault of Quebec, on the night of the 31st December 1775, or, rather, the morning of the 1st January, 1776,¹ during a heavy snow-storm from the north-east; under the favor of which, as also to avoid the exposed situation to which his men would have been subjected had the attack been made on the land side, where there were lanterns and composition pots kept burning every night during the absence of the moon, he expected the better to carry his point."

"The path leading round the bottom of the rock on which the garrison stands, and called *Près-de-Ville*, was then quite narrow; so that the front of the line of march could present only a few files of men. The sergeant who had charge of the barrier-guard, Hugh McQuarters,—where there was a gun kept loaded with grape and musket-balls, and levelled every evening in the direction of the said footpath—had orders to be vigilant, and when

¹ It is unnecessary to observe here that the memory of brave old sergeant Thompson, aged 96, seems to have failed him, as to the exact day. Bancroft and other standard authorities can leave no doubt on this point.

assured of an approach by any body of men, to fire the gun. It was General Montgomery's fate to be amongst the leading files of the storming party; and the precision with which McQuarters acquitted himself of the orders he had received, resulted in the death of the general, two aides-de-camp, and a sergeant; at least, these were all that could be found after the search made at dawn of day the next morning. There was but one discharge of the gun, from which the general had received a grape-shot in his chin, one in the groin, and one through the thigh which shattered the bone. I never could ascertain whether the defection of Montgomery's followers was in consequence of the fall of their leader, or whether owing to their being panic-struck, a consequence so peculiar to an unlooked-for shock in the dead of night and when almost on the point of coming into action; added to which, the meeting with an obstruction (in the barrier) where one was not expected to exist. Be that as it may, he or rather the cause in which he had engaged, was deserted by his followers at the instant that their perseverance and intrepidity were the most needed. I afterwards learnt that the men's engagements were to terminate on 31st December, (1775.) ”

As to the disputed point of who fired the fatal gun, it is of little importance. The guard was no doubt under the command of Captain Chabot and Lt. Picard, of the French Canadian militia. The British tars under Captain Barnsfare served the guns.¹ But

¹ “ Extract of a letter from Adam Barnsfare, master of the *Tell* transport ship, to his owners Whitby, dated Quebec, May 15th, 1776.

“ We have got the troubles of this winter over, and have kept the town of Quebec in spite of all our enemies. I am now fitting out the

it was then, as it still is the custom, for a steady N. C. O. or gunner of Royal Artillery to mount with every infantry guard where there are guns. I have no doubt in my own mind that honest sergeant Hugh McQuarters of the Royal Artillery, "feared God only, and kept his powder dry,"—that he fired the fatal gun point blank down the road which he, and the gallant guard had steadily watched through, the long dark hours of that eventful night—" *Palman qui meruit ferat.*" Let us resume Mr. Thompson's narrative :

" I do not undertake to give a detailed history of the whole of the events, I return to the *General* and the sword. Holding the situation of Overseer of works in the Royal Engineer Department at Quebec, I had the superintendence of the defences to be erected throughout the place, which brought to my notice almost every incident connected with the military operations of the blockade of 1775 ; and from the part I had performed in the affair generally, I considered that I had some right to withhold the

Tell as fast as possible to go up the river. The rebels who ran from the place on the 6th inst., at the approach of a frigate were 4,000 strong, and we have within the walls 1,500. We have had a hard winter within the walls, beef was one shilling a pound, and pork 1s. 3d. Before this comes to hand, you will hear of us *having been attacked* on 31st December, when I had the honor to command at that post, where the grand attack was made. *I had the fortune of killing the General and his Aide de Camp by the very first two guns I fired*, which was a great means of saving the garrison, so you may find I have become an expert warrior. They made several attempts afterwards and raised four batteries against different parts of the town ; one was against the shipping ; which has done great damage to several of them but most to the *Tell* ; they knew the ship as she lay between two men-of-war. One boy on board has lost his leg, and one more is wounded. All our ship's company are well, only John Hays wounded in the hand."—(*New-York Historical Magazine.*)

general's sword, particularly as it had been obtained on the battle ground.

"On its having been ascertained that Montgomery's division had withdrawn, a party went out to view the effects of the shot, when, as the snow had fallen on the previous night about knee deep, the only part of a body that appeared above the level of the snow was that of the general himself, whose hand and part of the left arm was in an erect position, but the body itself much distorted, the knees being drawn up towards the head; the other bodies that were found at the moment, were those of his aides-de-camp Cheseman and McPherson,¹ and one sergeant. The whole were hard frozen. Montgomery's sword, (and he was the only officer of that army who wore a sword that I ever perceived,) was close by his side, and as soon as it was discovered, which was first by a drummer-boy, who made a snatch at it on the spur of the moment, and no doubt considered it as his lawful prize, but I immediately made him

John McPherson, A. D. C., to Montgomery, had a brother then serving in the English service. We subjoin from the *New-York Historical Magazine*, the last letter Mr. McPherson wrote to his father:

"My dear Father,—If you receive this it will be the last this hand will ever write you. Orders are given for a general storm of Quebec, this night; and Heaven only knows what may be my fate; but whatever it be, I cannot resist the inclination I feel to assure you that I experience no reluctance in this cause, to venture a life which I consider is only lent to be used when my country demands it.

"That the All gracious Disposer of human events may shower on you, my mother, brothers and sisters, every blessing your nature can receive, is, and will be to the last moment of my life, the sincere prayer of your dutiful and affectionate son.

"JOHN MCPHERSON."

"Head-Quarters, before Quebec, }
"30th December, 1775. }

deliver it up to me, and some time after I made him a present of seven shillings and six pence, by way of prize money." (Thompson).

"Asit is lighter and shorter than my own sword, I have adopted it, and wore it in lieu. Having some business at the "Séminaire," where there was a number of American officers, prisoners of war, of General Arnold's division, I had occasion to be much vexed with myself for having it with me, for the instant they observed it they knew it to have been their General's, and they were much affected by the recollections that it seemed to bring back to their minds; indeed, several of them wept audibly! I took care however, in mercy to the feelings of those ill-fated gentlemen, that whenever I had to go to the Seminary afterwards, to leave the sword behind me. To return to the General, the body on its being brought within the walls (the garrison) was identified by Mrs. widow Prentice, (who then kept the hotel known by the name of "Free Mason's Hall,") by a scar on one of his cheeks, supposed to be a sabrecut, and by the General having frequently lodged at her house on previous occasions of his coming to Quebec on business. General Carleton, the then Governor General, being satisfied as to his identity, ordered that the body should be decently buried, in the most private manner, and His Excellency entrusted the business to me. I accordingly had the body conveyed to a small log house in St. Lewis street, (opposite to the residence of Judge Dunn,) the second from the corner of St. Ursule street, owned by one François Gaubert, a cooper, and I ordered Henry Dunn, joiner,

to prepare a suitable coffin; this he complied with, having covered it with fine black cloth and lined it with flannel; I gave him no direction about the burying party, as I had a party of my soldiers in waiting at the Chateau to carry the corpse to the grave at the moment that General Carleton conceived proper; I next proceeded to Gaubert's, where I was told that Mr. Dunn had just taken away the corpse; this was about the setting of the sun on the 4th January, 1776. I accordingly posted up to the place where I had ordered the grave to be dug, (just alongside of that of my first wife, within and near the surrounding wall of the powder magazine, in the gorge of the St. Lewis bastion,) and found, in addition to the six men and Dunn, the undertaker, that the Rev. Mr. DeMontmollin, the military chaplain, was in attendance. On satisfying myself that the grave was properly covered up, I went and reported the circumstances to General Carleton. It having been (subsequently) decided to demolish the powder magazine, and to erect a casemated barrack in its stead, I took care to mark the spot where Montgomery was buried (not so much perhaps on *his* account as from the interest I felt for it, on another score) by having a small cut stone inserted in the pavement within the barrack square, and this precaution enabled me afterwards to point out the place to a nephew of the General, Mr. Lewis, who, learning that the person who had had the direction of the burial of his uncle's corpse was still living, came to Quebec, about the year 1818, to take away the remains. I, repaired thither with young Mr. Lewis

and several officers of the garrison, together with Chief Justice Sewell and some friends of the deceased. They accordingly took up the pavement exactly in the direction of the grave. The skeleton was found complete, and when removed a musket ball fell from the skull; the coffin was nearly decayed. No part of the black cloth of the outside, nor of the flannel of the inside were visible; a leather thong with which the hair had been tied, was still in a state of preservation after a lapse of forty-three years; there is a spring of water near the place, which may have had the effect of hastening the decay of the contents of the grave.”¹

“ (Signed,) JAMES THOMPSON,

“ Overseer of Works.

“ Quebec, 16th August, 1828.”

¹ *Richard Montgomery*. Born in Ireland in 1736—studied at Trinity College, Dublin—was appointed 21st August, 1756, to an Ensigncy in the 17th Foot, landed at Halifax, with his regiment, 3rd June, 1757—served under Wolfe, in 1758, at the siege of Louisbourg, where his honorable conduct procured him promotion, viz a Lieutenancy on 17th July, 1758. After the fall of Louisbourg, his regiment formed part of the forces sent under Amherst to reduce the French forts on Lake Champlain. Richard Montgomery became adjutant of the Regiment, on the 15th May, 1760, and served that summer, under Haviland, in the reduction of Montreal, held by Levis. He then was sent to the West Indies; and was made a captain, the 5th May, 1762. After that, he went to New-York and returned to Ireland in 1767.—He left the English army in 1772 and returned to America in January, 1773.—In July, 1773, he married Janet Livingstone, a daughter of Judge Robert R. Livingston, and established himself on a farm at Rhinebeck, Dutchess County, in the Province of New-York. In 1775, he was chosen as a delegate to Congress and then entrusted with a command in Canada—where he met with his death, on 31st December, 1775.

Richard Montgomery was a gentleman of a good Protestant family in the south of Ireland and connected by marriage with Viscount Ra-

Col. Benedict Arnold, led his men along the cape outside Palace Gate, at five in the morning, in the teeth of a heavy snow storm, towards Sault-au-Matelot street, until they met with resistance on the first barrier, opposite a jutting rock, in the, at present, unfrequented lane, called Little Sault-au-Matelot street or Dog Lane. Being wounded in the knee, he was borne away by some trusty followers, to the General Hospital; the daring soldier, was deposited on a bed, awaiting the result of the assault and when told of the fate of his followers and advised to retreat to a spot more distant from the British, he said he would not stir; and if an enemy sought to enter, he would blow out his brains with his pistols, which he had deposited near him.

Arnold led his men by files along the river St. Charles, until he came to the Sault-au-Matelot quarter, where there was a barrier with two guns mounted. It must be understood that St. Paul street did not then exist, the tide coming up nearly to the base of the rock, and the only path between the rock and the beach was the narrow alley which now exists in rear of St. Paul street, under the precipice itself. Here the curious visitor will find a jutting rock, where was

nelagh. His leaving the English service was due, t's said, to some injustice shown him by the military authorities, connected with promotion.—There was in the 43rd Regiment, serving in 1759, at the surrender of Quebec, another Montgomery, Capt. Alexander Montgomery, a brother of Richard. Capt. Alexander Montgomery disgraced his name by acts of cruelty on the inhabitants of St. Joachim.

Though several historians connect Richard Montgomery with the battle of the Plains of Abraham, there is nothing to show he was there, the presumption being that he was then with his Regiment serving in Western Canada. (*Vide Album du Touriste*, P. 33.).

the first barrier. The whole of the street went by the name of Sault-au-Matelot, from the most ancient times. Arnold took the command of the "forlorn hope," and was leading the attack upon this barrier, which he thus alludes to, in his letter, when he received a musket wound in the knee¹

¹ "To General Wooster, General Hospital, Dec., 31st 1775.

"DEAR SIR,—I make no doubt General Montgomery acquainted you with his intention of storming Quebec, as soon as a good opportunity offered. As we had several men deserted from us a few days past, the General was induced to alter his plan, which was to have attacked the Upper and Lower Town at the same time. He thought it most prudent to make two different attacks upon the Lower Town, the one at Cape Diamond, the other at St. Rochs. For the last attack, I was ordered with my own detachment, and Captain Lamb's company of Artillery. At five o'clock, the hour appointed for the attack, a false attack was ordered to be made on the Upper Town. We accordingly began our march. I passed through St. Roch, and approached near the two gun battery picketted in the street, without being discovered, which we attacked; it was bravely defended for about an hour, but, with a loss of a number of men, we carried it. In the attack I was shot through the leg, and was obliged to be carried to the Hospital, where I soon heard the disagreeable news, that the General was defeated at Cape Diamond; himself Captain McPherson, his A.D. C., and Captain Cheeseman killed on the spot, with a number of others unknown.

"After gaining the Battery, my detachment pushed on to the second-barrier which they took possession of; at the same time, the enemy sallied out from the Palace Gate and attacked them in rear. A field piece which the roughness of the roads would not permit us carrying on, fell into the enemy's hands with a number of prisoners.

"The last accounts from my detachment, about ten minutes since, they were pushing for the Lower Town. Their communication with me was cut off. I am exceedingly apprehensive what the event will be. They will either carry the Lower Town, be made prisoners, or cut to pieces. I thought proper to send an express to let you know the critical situation we are in, and make no doubt you will give us all the assistance in your power.

"As I am not able to act, I shall give up the command to Colonel

which disabled him, and he was carried back to the General Hospital. His troops, however, persevered, and having soon made themselves masters of the barrier, pressed on through the narrow street to the attack of the second, near the eastern extremity of Sault-au-Matelot street. This was a battery which protected the ends of the two streets called St. Peter and Sault-au-Matelot streets, extending, by means of *hangards*, mounted with cannon, from the rock to the river. Lymeburner's dwelling a private house, had cannon projecting from the end windows, as had a house at the end of Sault-au-Matelot street. The enemy took shelter in the houses on each side, and in the narrow pass leading round the base of the cliff towards Hope-Gate, where they were secured by the angle of the rock from the fire of the guns at the barrier. Here the enemy met with a determined resistance, which it was impossible to overcome ; and General Carleton having ordered a sortie from Palace Gate under Captain Laws, in order to take them in the rear—and their rear-guard, under Captain Dearborn, having already surrendered—the division of Arnold demanded quarter, and were brought prisoners to the Upper-Town. The officers were confined in the Seminary. The contest con-

Campbell. I beg you will immediately send an express to the Honble. Continental Congress and His Excellency General Washington.

" The loss of my detachment before I left it, was about thirty killed and wounded, among the latter is Major Ogden, who with Captain Oswald, Captain Burr and the other volunteers behaved extremely well.

" I have only time to add that, I am with the greatest esteem,

" Your most obed't &c., &c., &c.

" B. ARNOLD."

tinued for upwards of two hours, and the bravery of the assailants was indisputable. Through the freezing cold, and the pelting of the storm, they maintained the attack until all hope of success was lost, when they surrendered to a generous enemy, who treated the wounded and prisoners with humanity."

"The Americans lost in the attack about one hundred killed and wounded, and six officers of Arnold's party, exclusive of the lost at Près-de-Ville. The British lost one officer, Lieutenant Anderson of the Royal Navy, Mr. Fraser, a head shipcarpenter and seventeen killed and wounded. The following is a statement of the force which surrendered :

1 Lieutenant,	}	Not wounded.
2 Majors,		
8 Captains,		
15 Lieutenants,		
6 Adjutants,		
1 Quarter Master,		
4 Volunteers,	}	
350 Rank and file,		
44 Officers and soldiers, wounded.		

426 Total surrendered.

"By the death of Montgomery the command devolved upon Arnold, who had received the rank of Brigadier General. In a letter, dated 14th January, 1776, he complains of the great difficulty he had in keeping his remaining troops together, so disheartened were they by their disasters on the 31st December. The siege now resumed its former character of a blockade, without any event of importance, until the month of March, when the enemy received reinforcements that increased their numbers to near two thousand men. In the beginning of April, Ar-

nold took the command at Montreal, and was relieved before Quebec by Brigadier General Wooster. The blockading army, which had all the winter remained at three miles distance from the city, now approached nearer the ramparts, and re-opened their fire upon the fortifications, with no better success than before. In the night of the 3rd May, they made an unsuccessful attempt to destroy the ships of war and vessels laid up in the Cul-de-Sac, by sending in a fire ship, the *Gaspé*, with the intention of profiting by the confusion, and of making another attack upon the works by escalade. At this time they had reason to expect that considerable reinforcements, which they had no means of preventing from reaching the garrison, would shortly arrive from England; and giving up all hope of success, they became impatient to return to their own country. A council of war was held on the 5th, by General Thomas, who had succeeded Wooster; and it was determined to raise the siege at once, and to retire to Montreal. They immediately began their preparations, and in the course of the next forenoon broke up their camp, and commenced a precipitate retreat.

“ In the mean time the gallant Carleton and his intrepid garrison were rejoiced by the arrival, early in the morning of the 6th May, of the *Surprise* frigate, Captain Linzee, followed soon after by the *Isis*, of fifty guns, and *Martin* sloop of war, with a reinforcement of troops and supplies. Nothing could exceed the delight of the British at this seasonable relief. After the toil and privation of a six months' siege, it may be imagined with what feelings the inhabitants beheld the frigate rounding Point Lévis, and how

Sincerely they welcomed her arrival in the basin. The *Isis* was commanded by Captain, afterwards Admiral, Sir Charles Douglas, Baronet, father of Major General Sir Howard Douglas. Captain Douglas had made uncommon exertions to force his ship through fields of ice,—having by skilful management and a press of sail carried her, for the space of fifty leagues, through obstacles which would have deterred an officer less animated by the zeal which the critical service on which, he was employed required. The troops on board the vessels, consisting of two companies of the 29th Regiment, with a party of marines, amounting in all to two hundred men, were immediately landed, under the command of Captain Viscount Petersham, afterwards General the Earl of Harrington. No sooner had they arrived in the Upper-Town, than General Carleton, who had learned the retreat of the enemy, determined to make a sortie and to harass their rear. He accordingly marched out at the head of eight hundred men ; but so rapid was the flight of the enemy, that a few shots only were exchanged, when they abandoned their stores, artillery, scaling ladders, leaving also their sick, of whom they had a great many, to the care of the British. The humanity with which they were treated was afterwards commemorated by Chief Justice Marshall in his life of Washington.”¹

“The military success,” says Alfred Sandham, which had put nearly the whole of Canada into the possession of the Americans, terminated with the fall of Montgomery under the walls of Quebec. General Arnold, with the small remnant of his

¹ Hawkins' *Picture of Quebec*.

troops kept his ground until spring. Meanwhile General Wooster quietly rested in undisputed possession of Montreal. On the departure of Wooster for Quebec, (April 1st, 1776,) Col. Hazen assumed command. In a letter addressed to General Schuyler, the Colonel refers to the friendly disposition manifested by the Canadians when Montgomery first penetrated into the country, but that they could no longer be looked upon as friends. This change he ascribed to the fact that the clergy had been neglected and "in some instances ill used." He closes with the following: "You may remember, sir, in a conversation with you at Albany, I urged the necessity of sending immediately to Canada able Generals, a respectable army, a Committee of Congress, a suitable supply of hard cash, and a *Printer*."

"When the news reached Congress that the assault upon Quebec had failed; that Montgomery had been left dead on the snowy heights, and Arnold borne wounded from the field; that cold, hunger, and small-pox were wasting the army, that discipline was forgotten, and the people indifferent or inimical, the Congress resorted to the expedient of appointing three Commissioners to go to Montreal, confer with Arnold, and arrange a plan for the rectification of Canadian affairs." Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll, were selected for this mission. Mr. John Carroll, a Catholic Clergyman, (afterwards Archbishop of Baltimore), was also invited to accompany them. He had been educated in France, and it was supposed that this circumstance, added to his religious profession and character, would enable him to exercise an influence with the clergy in Canada.

The Commissioners were clothed with extraordinary powers. "They were authorized to receive Canada into the union of Colonies, and organize the government on the republican system. They were empowered to suspend military officers, decide disputes between the civil and military authorities, vote at councils of war, draw upon Congress to the amount of one hundred thousand dollars, raise additional troops, and issue military commissions," in short, whatever authority Congress itself, could be supposed to exercise over Canada, was conferred upon the three Commissioners. Chiefly, however, they were charged to convince, conciliate, and win the Canadians by appeals to their reason and interest; in aid of which they were to take measures for *establishing a newspaper* to be conducted by a friend of Congress." To carry into operation this portion of their instructions, they secured the services of a French Printer named Mesplets, who was engaged, with a promise that all his expenses should be paid. The party left Philadelphia about the 20th of March, 1776, but did not reach Montreal until the 29th of April. They were "received by General Arnold in the most polite and friendly manner, conducted to Head Quarters, where a "genteel" company of ladies and gentlemen had assembled to welcome them. They supped with Arnold, and after supper were conducted by the General to their lodgings,—the house of Mr. Thomas Walker,—the best built, and perhaps the best furnished in Montreal. The next day the Commissioners sat at a Council of War, (of which Arnold was the President), held in the Government building. At this council was told the dismal truth with regard to the

affairs of Congress in Canada. Canada was lost, and the first despatch of the Commissioners informed Congress that their credit in Canada was not merely impaired, but destroyed. Perceiving the hopelessness of the position, Franklin left Montreal on the 11th May, and on the following day was joined by Mr. J. Carroll at St. Johns. They reached Philadelphia early in June. The account presented by Franklin to Congress of money expended on this journey, showed that he had advanced the sum of \$1220, of which \$560 was to be charged to General Arnold, and \$124 to Chas. Carroll. The beds and outfit of the party cost \$164. The whole expense incurred by Franklin and J. Carroll was \$372. On the 29th of May, Chase and Chas. Carroll, left Montreal to attend a Council of War at Chambly, where it was determined that the army should retreat out of Canada. On the 30th the Commissioners left Chambly for St. Johns, from whence they proceeded on their journey homeward thus ending the efforts put forth by the Congress to maintain a footing in Canada.

The dispatches of the Commissioners do not contain any special reference to the services rendered by Mesplets ; but it is certain that the numerous and in some instances lengthy addresses to the Canadian people were printed by him.”¹

“ It may be acceptable,” says Benjamin Sulte, “to furnish fresh information respecting Fleury Mesplet, the first French Printer established in Canada,² and also of Jotard, who was the Editor of one of his Periodicals.

¹ *The Canadian Antiquarian*, I. 58-61.

² *The Canadian Antiquarian*, Vol. I, P. 58.

" Before coming to Canada, Mesplet had been a printer, in Philadelphia, where (in 1774) he published *Lettre adressée aux habitants de la Province de Québec, de la part du Congrès Général de l'Amérique Septentrionale, tenu à Philadelphie*.

" In the spring of 1776, he followed Franklin to Montreal, for the purpose of being useful to him as a printer. Very little work was done, if any, because the " Congress people " had to retire not long after.

" As soon as this was over, Mesplet went to Quebec, and there, by means of the type of the *Quebec Gazette*, probably, brought out one of the first books issued by a Canadian Press. It was aught but a reprint of a volume of sacred songs, known as *La Cantique de Marseille*. This occurred in the same year, 1776. Fleury Mesplet, and Charles Berger's names adorn the title page.

" They both are seen subsequently in Montreal exercising their art, conjointly. Their office was, in the Market Place, the present Custom House Square. The partnership did not last long, for in 1778, Mesplet started (in both languages) the *Montreal Gazette*, which still exists.

" Under the sway of General Haldimand, much dissatisfaction seems to have ruffled the public mind. The French Canadians especially, complained of his manner of dealing with " Colonists. " They were trying to raise a popular obstacle in his way. Mesplet complied with this feeling, and about 1779 started a political (" libellous ") paper says a contemporary newspaper, the first of this class, ever published on this continent. It was styled, TANT PIS, TANT MIEUX.

The writer of this somewhat remarkable intro

duction, was one Jotard, a lawyer from France, who had undertaken openly the task of fighting Haldimand to the bitter end. The result could not be long doubtful.

"Jotard and Mesplet, soon found themselves incarcerated in the Quebec Jail, and had to abandon their hazardous attack. There they met with other French prisoners, one of whom was Pierre de Sales Laterrière, formerly director of the St. Maurice Forges, in which capacity he was accused of having favored the entrance of the American Forces in 1775, and helped to their maintenance while in the country.

"¹ Pierre du Calvet, then the leader, so to speak of the French malcontents, became also a companion of the three prisoners, and shared their confinement, as well as a Scotchman, by the name of Hay, a cooper, of Quebec, charged with having held correspondence with the enemy.

"The picture of their captivity, drawn by Laterrière in his curious *Memoires*, (Manuscript), throws a very unfavorable light on the moral character of both Mesplet and Jotard. Troublesome, impudent drunkards, such was the standing complaint made against them, during a period of some four years, which they spent together within the walls of the prison of Quebec.

"Being all liberated (1783,) on the arrival of Lord Dorchester as Governor General, we find no further

¹ The Huguenot Pierre Du Calvet, a state prisoner in the cells of the Récollet Convent in 1779, is one of the most curious figures of those times. He had saved money previous to the surrender of Quebec, and was a most determined enemy of Sir F. Haldimand, whom he subsequently sued in the English Courts of Justice. He was lost at sea, returning from England. (See *Mémoires de Du Calvet*.)

trace of Jotard, but Mesplet is heard of again, having founded *La Gazette Littéraire* in Montreal, about 1788."¹

Quebec was provided with a public library, in the year 1779; it lasted with varying success, until the 1869, when its books were added by purchase to those of the *Literary and Historical Society*.

One year of the last century—the year 1785—is associated in the minds of the French Canadian citizens, with a very unusual phenomenon. It is called *l'année de la grande noirceur*.

"On Sunday, the 9th October, between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, an uncommon darkness was perceived, though at the same time the atmosphere appeared of a fiery luminous yellow colour; this was followed by squalls of wind and rain, with severe thunder and lightning, which continued most of the night; a thing uncommon at that season, it having froze considerably the night before.

"On Saturday, the 15th October, about fifteen minutes after three in the afternoon, it became darker than it had been the Sunday before, and the sky of much the same colour; it was succeeded by a heavy shower, and very severe thunder and lightning.

"Sunday morning, the 16th, was quite calm and foggy till about ten o'clock, when there arose some wind from the eastward, which partly expelled the fog; in about half an hour after, it became so dark that ordinary print could not be read within doors; this was followed by a squall of wind and rain when it brightened up again. From five, till about ten

¹ *The Canadian Antiquarian*, Vol. IV, P. 64.

minutes after twelve, the darkness was so great, that the Ministers in the English and Presbyterian churches were obliged to stop till they got candles. From two o'clock till about ten minutes after, it was as dark as at midnight when there is no moon light.

"From forty-three, till about fifty minutes after three o'clock, it was total darkness; and from thirty-five till forty-five minutes after four, it was very dark. The people in the city dined by candle light, and spent a part of the afternoon in lighting up and extinguishing them. Each period of darkness was followed by gusts of wind and rain, with some severe claps of thunder, and the atmosphere looked as before described.

"It was remarked, that on the days before mentioned, there appeared to be two adverse currents of air, the uppermost impelling a luminous strata of clouds towards the north-east, and the lower, driving with great rapidity broken misty clouds towards the south-west, and that the rain water which fell on Sunday during those gusts was almost black.—No satisfactory solution has ever been given of this extraordinary phenomenon.¹"

Those dark days were known to the English as the "two dark sundays."

In 1782, the city *belles* had been much exercised as to the marriageable prospects of a young naval officer commanding H. M.'s sloop *Albemarle*, 28 guns, then in port. What was more distressing to some of them, was that from the ardor displayed by the susceptible son of Neptune, there seemed no prospect whatever of seducing away his allegiance, from his fair *inamorata*, "a sweet creature who hailed from Free Mason's

¹ Smith's *History of Canada*, Vol. II, P. 171.

Hall," on Mountain hill, the niece or daughter of the landlord. The youthful heroine was a damsel of wondrous beauty, and the gallant, a no less personage than Lady Hamilton's future lover, the hero of the Nile, of Aboukir, of Trafalgar—Horatio, Lord Nelson.¹ The youthful amours of Nelson, which nearly lost him for ever to glory, well authenticated

1 "Nelson, says Lamartine, spent a few months at Quebec. Smitten with a violent passion for a fair Canadian, inferior to him by birth, he did not hesitate to sacrifice his ambition to his love, and was prepared to quit the service, to marry the adored one as the fleet was ready to sail for Europe. His brother officers concerned at his folly came ashore to tear him away by force from his idol, and used violence to remove him to shipboard. It was then augured that on love, that insatiable ambition of tender hearts, would be shipwrecked his career."

Is not the foregoing a suggestive passage, pregnant with meaning? What a vista of suppositions, each one more startling than the last, does it not open up to the mind's eye? Who can award adequate praise to the tender concern of Nelson's shipmates, for carrying him away bodily to prevent a Briton of eighteen from committing matrimony with a colonist? What considerate fellows to snatch away the love-sick Horatio from Lesbia's winning smiles. Think of the lover of the queenly Duchess of Hamilton ready to sacrifice promotion, ambition, glory, nay Westminster Abbey itself, so that a Canadian Juliet might call him husband.

What a group of strange, romantic ideas are suggested by this episode in the life of Nelson. What an insight in the human heart? What a lesson taught by the frailties of great men? Let the reader imagine himself a denizen of Quebec in 1782, take post, say on Mountain Hill, and watch the passage of the cavalcade of ruddy, handsome English middies, holding tight the future hero of Aboukir and Trafalgar, some by an arm, some by a leg, whilst others support his head, pushing and hauling him vigorously coastwise far from the Circean influence of his enchantress, reinforced by a squad of jolly marines, singing as they go along "Black eyed Susan," anxious to deposit on the quarter deck England's pride, Emma Hamilton's future adorer—the chivalric commander of the *Victory*. Is there no moral pointed by these lines? Shall we not also have a word of praise for those who thus saved Nelson for immortality and Lady Hamilton."

by his biographers Southey, Lamartine, &c., I have described elsewhere.¹

Mountain street seems to have been fertile in amorous episodes; tradition has handed down an adventure, in which George III's youthful son, Prince William Henry, came off only second best. It is stated that the Duke of Clarence, on landing from the *Pegasus* frigate, was very roughly treated by the indignant father of a Quebec *belle*, towards whom the youth had been too demonstrative in his appreciation of female loveliness.—Discretion, on this occasion, had appeared to the future Monarch of England, the best part of valor. The loyal citizens greeted his advent with fire-works; Lord Dorchester had his Royal Highness seated at the Castle St. Louis, facing the citadel, on an exalted "platform," to witness the display.²

The social troubles which convulsed France in the year 1789, were very slightly felt at Quebec. As usual the annual dinner of the Veterans of 1775, took place, either at Free Masons' Hall (Prentice's Hotel), or some other Coffee House, on the 31st December, both nationalities taking part in it; on the 4th June, being George III's birth day, a levee

¹ An account of this curious adventure in the hero's life, was published in *L'ALBUM DU TOURISTE*, p. 43. In December last, it was neatly translated *cum florituris*, in Townshend's *ST. JAMES CHRISTMAS ANNUAL* for 1875, p. 84, second Edition,—by Mr. Sydney Robjohns. It is stated that Capt. Hardy was then serving under him.

² "I have, says Thompson, received his Lordship's (Lord Dorchester) orders to erect a platform on the roof of a *vaulted house*, originally a *powder magazine*, joining the upper end of the *New Building* (Chateau) for His Royal Highness (Prince William Henry) and his company (to) sit upon while the fire-works are displayed on an eminence fronting it below the *Old Citadel*. (*Diary of Jas. Thompson*, 21st August, 1787.)

was held at 11 a.m., and a ball in the evening, at the *Old Chateau*, for those who had attended the morning *Levee*.

The *Quebec Gazette* of the 26th March 1789, chronicles the demise of its late printer, William Brown, and gives out that the business will be hereafter carried on, by Samuel Neilson, his nephew. Lord Dorchester's benign influence appears to extend to several matters affecting the public good. Lady Maria, his youthful partner and helpmate, is as amiable as ever, and enjoys her town drives and her little court of friends.

On the 6th April, the rank of fashion, nobility and clergy of all denominations, as well as commoners, crowded at the *Chateau St. Louis*, to enter their names as subscribers¹ to the Quebec Agricultural Society,

¹ The *Quebec Gazette* of the 23rd April, will supply the names: the list is suggestive, on more points than one.

Rev. Phillip Tosey, Military Chap.	T. Arthur Coffin.
T. Monk, Atty. Genl.	Capt. Chas. St. Ours.
G. E. Tachereau, Esq.	Aug. Glapion, Sup Jésuites.
Peter Stewart, Esq.	A. Hubert, Curé de Québec.
Malcolm Fraser, Esq.	Juchereau Duchesnay, Esq.
William Lindsay, "	L. de Salaberry, "
J. B. Descheneaux, "	P. Panet, P. C.
John Lees, "	M. Gravé, Supérieur Séminaire.
John Renaud, "	John Craigie, Esq.
John Young, "	Berthelot D'Artigny, Esq.
Mathew Lymburner, Esq.	Perrault l'Ainé, "
John Blackwood, "	George Allsopp, "
M. L. Germain, fils.	Robert Lester, "
A. Panet, Esq.	Alex. Davidson, "
P. L. Panet, Esq.	The Chief Justice.
A. Gaspé, Esq., St. Jean Port Joly.	Hon. Hugh Finlay.
M. Ob. Aylwin.	" Thos. Dunn.
The Canadian Bishop.	" Edward Harrison.
M. Bailly, Coadjuteur.	" John Collins.
T. Mervin Nooth, Dr.	" Adam Mabane.
Henry Motz, "	" J. G. C. De Lery.
Jenkins Williams.	" Geo. Pownall.
Isaac Ogden, Judge of Admiralty.	" Henry Caldwell.
Messire Panet, curé of Riv. Ouelle.	" William Grant.
Sir Thomas Mills.	" François Baby.
François Dambourgès, Esq.	" Samuel Holland.

warmly patronized by His Excellency; Hon. Hugh Finlay, Deputy Post Master General, is chosen Secretary.

Amongst the transactions in real estate this year, one notices the sale by Court of Law, of two extensive distilleries in St. Charles street (Lepper and Lloyd's premises in our day?) belonging to the estate of the late James Grant: the sale to take place at the Quebec College (The Jesuits' College) where the court then sat.

The 25th September is devoted to sport and races, to take place on the Plains of Abraham.¹

We find the Roman Catholic Bishop, called on to bless the new bridge, named after His Excellency,

Dorchester Bridge," opened to the public on the 24th September, 1789. This bridge was a few acres more to the west of the present one, which dates of 1822; the first Dorchester Bridge was built by Asa Porter.

Whipping was no novelty in those days, and one "John Millar (pursuant to a sentence of the Justices of the Peace,) was publicly whipped² on the market place, in the upper town, for stealing ducks and turkeys." (*Quebec Gazette*, 17th Dec., 1791.)

Capt. Fraser, 34th Regt.

Kennel Chaudler, Esq

J. T. Cugnet,

J. F. Cugnet,

M. Pierre Florence, Rivière Ouelle.

Hon. George Davidson.

" Chs De Lanaudière.

" Le-Compte Dupré.

Major Mathews.

Capt Rotson.

¹ "To morrow at 12 o'clock, a subscription purse will be run for, on the Plains of Abraham, for the best of the two two miles heats by Sir Thomas Mill's *Coquette*, Mr. Lanaudière's *Corbeau*; Capt. Saint-Ours' *Niagara* and Mr. Merrick's *Peggy*. Between the heats there is a saddle to be run for, free to all Canadian bred horses, to be ridden by Canadians."—(*Quebec Gazette*, 24 Sept. 1789.)

² There was at a very early date as well, a whipping post, on the lower-town market place facing the Church *Notre-Dame-des-Victoires*.

CHAPTER VII.

1791—1815.

CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLES.

IMPERIAL ACT OF 1791, DIVIDING THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC. — THE DUKE OF KENT. — WAR WITH FRANCE. — PRESS GANGS. — SLAVERY. — SIR JAMES CRAIG. — FIRST ATLANTIC STEAMER. — WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES. —

Quebec, with its new parliament, is growing in importance. Let us take a hurried glance at the divers incidents which will engage the attention of its denizens for the next twenty-four years. One of the most startling items for the world of fashion, was the landing at the lower-town, in August, of the Sovereign's fourth son, His Royal Highness Prince Edward: elsewhere¹ we have chronicled the levees, addresses and Chateau-balls, given on account of the advent of this sprig of royalty, the jolly young Col. of the 7th Fusiliers. Lt. Governor Alured Clark's proclamation, issued on the 26th December 1791, dividing Canada into two provinces, became an occasion for festivity; a public dinner attended by

¹ In *Maple Leaves*, for 1865, Page 64.

one hundred and sixty gentlemen, enlivened by the strains of Prince Edward's band, went off with great *éclat*. A public illumination followed; efforts were made to unite the King's old subjects (the English), with the new subjects (the French), and a constitutional club formed with that object in view. On the 27th December 1792, the first Parliament under the new constitution met at Quebec. An old and respected City barrister, J. A. Panet, esquire, was elected speaker and continued to be, for twenty-two years. His Excellency informed the Assembly that France had declared war to England. M. de Gaspé has graphically related the painful impression created here by the news of the execution of the French King: how "his father, mother and aunt wept bitterly and long" on hearing of this heinous crime.

Our city will soon have occasion to rejoice, that Canada is not a French colony any more; and presently we will hear the eloquent parish priest (afterwards bishop), Plessis, thank Almighty God, that that in our market place there is "no guillotine to behead priests, nobles and citizens."

In the fall of 1793,¹ the "Saviour," of Quebec, in

Quebec, 26th September, 1793.

¹ On Tuesday last arrived here from London, in His Majesty's ship *Severn*, His Excellency the Right Honorable Guy, Lord Dorchester, Lady Dorchester and Family. The ship came to anchor about nine o'clock in the morning, and His Lordship, declining the honors of the garrison upon his landing, came ashore privately about eleven o'clock, and walked up from the beach, a carriage attended to take her Ladyship and Miss Carleton. The news of their arrival seemed to give universal satisfaction to every description of citizens, which was expressed by a general illumination in the evening.

Long and repeated experience has taught the Canadians to repose the highest confidence in his Lordship's fostering care of this colony:

1775, Lord Dorchester returned from England, which at that time, was deeply stirred by the subversive and sanguinary¹ doctrines of the French *sans culottes*.

The upheavings in France, were not, however, without their effect, at Quebec. As early as the 26th November 1793, Lord Dorchester had thought proper to issue a proclamation against "emissaries from

they look up to him as a father; nor do they appear to entertain a more sincere wish than that he may be induced to spend the remainder of his valuable life amongst them, and that they may long enjoy the blessing of his mild and equitable Government. His Lordship has brought out his third son, the Honorable Mr. Christopher Carleton, as one of his Aide-de-Camps. In his suite, are also arrived Col. Beckwith and Mr. Ryland, Secretary to his Lordship.

The Bishop of Quebec (Dr. Mountain) we understand, sailed from England in a frigate, nearly at the same time with his Lordship. (*Quebec Gazette*, 26th April, 1793.)

¹ The reading public of Quebec, English and French, were persuing with sorrow mingled with scorn and indignation, in the *Quebec Gazette* of the 6th February 1794, the atrocious charges embodied in the act of accusation of the unfortunate Marie-Antoinette. The second count ran thus: "Marie-Antoinette, widow of Louis Capet, has, since her abode in France, been the scourge and blood sucker of the French; that even before the happy Revolution which gave the French people their sovereignty, she had political correspondence with a man called the King of Bohemia and Hungary; that the correspondence was contrary to the interests of France; and, not content with acting in concert with the brothers of Louis Capet, and the infamous and execrable Calonne, at that time Minister of the Finances; of having squandered the finances of France (the fruit of the sweat of the people), in a dreadful manner, to satisfy inordinate pleasures, and to pay the agents of her criminal intrigues, it is notorious that she has, at different times, transmitted millions to the Emperor, which served him and still support him to sustain a war against the Republic; and that it is by such excessive plunder that she has at length exhausted the national treasury."

The array of "crimes against the nation," charged against the unfortunate princess, takes up half of the *Gazette* and culminates in an accusation of *Inceste*, calling her a "New Agrippina."

France, &c., busy propagating revolutionary principles in the Province of Quebec. These suspicions, we will find, actuating the policy of several governors for years afterwards, so long as war continued between both powers. This horror of French institutions, was more than once used, in later days by the *entourage* of the Governors to worry and oppress England's *new* subjects, the descendants of the French.

On the 9th July 1796, Lord Dorchester, under leave of absence, sailed for England, in the Frigate *Active*, leaving General Robert Prescott in charge of the Government. The *Active* was wrecked on Anticosti, on her way home and His Excellency crossed over to Percé and from thence sailed to Halifax, taking passage from that port in H. M. S. *Dover*, landing at Portsmouth on the 19th September 1796.

To those, curious of learning what were the fashionable tipplers, at the end of the late century, and lest any should imagine that our forefathers on festive occasions patronised aught but *sangaree* (mulled wine) shrub, Benecarlo wine, with old Jamaica Rum, for *coup d'appetit*, the advertisement of the sale by auction, in 1794, of the choice stock, at Fergusson's Hotel, will be quite a revelation. We read of "Madeira Wine," Malmsey, Barsac, Marabella, Malaga, Hock, a hogshead of Paxaretti wine, &c.¹

Sometimes, the whole city was thrown into commotion by the unexpected and mysterious advent, from Point Levis,—where they were huddled,—of swarms of Indians, waiting for their annual presents from Government.

¹ *Vide* Supplement to *Quebec Gazette*, 6th February, 1794.

M. de Gaspé describes one of those alarming occurrences which he witnessed, at the close of last century, "when no less than 400 of these swarthy savages crossed over, one Sunday, to the city in their canoes, without any apparent cause. Though no mischief was actually feared, the commander of the garrison thought proper to have the guards doubled at the gates and barracks. The Indian wore nothing but shirts, with a strip of cloth round their loins: they brought over no other arms than the inseparable tomahawk. Some of the oldest warriors had scalps hung to their belts: this meant that they had taken a part in the last war, between the English and Americans (1775-6.) They were evidently true savages: ferocious in aspect—with features smeared with red and black paint and tattooed bodies. Their heads were shorn, close; except a tuft of hair on the top, a token of defiance to the enemy. Some had their ears slit in long strips dangling on their shoulders; others, had them whole with silver rings four inches in diameter. They were, indeed, veritable Indians, ready to quaff in a skull, a foe's life blood, or roast him alive. The object of this Indian invasion, to the city on a Sunday, I never could fathom. It might be a special festival, or joy at having received the day previous, their annual presents from Government. Never did I before or since witness such a gathering in the streets of Quebec. Singularly enough, they were unaccompanied by their squaws. After perambulating the streets in parties of thirty or forty, and dancing in front of the residences of the chief citizens, who threw out pieces of money, to get rid of, or re-

munerate, them for their performance, they all met and halted on the upper-town market, at the close of the afternoon service, before the R. C. Cathedral, and four or five hundred in number, sang and danced the war dance. This began first by simulating a council of war. Then after short harangues, they filed off behind their great chief, imitating with their tomahawks the action of paddles cleaving the waves in cadence. They next formed a ring and struck up a slow, melancholy chaunt, as if preparing to start with their canoes, for an expedition. Their chorus, I can yet recall : "*Sáhontes ! sáhontes ! sáhontes ! oniakerin ou atchio chicono ou atibe.* Finally, at a given signal, all was silence. They appeared to consult the horizon and scent the air, as if an enemy was near. After gliding on their bellies, serpent fashion and cautiously, the chief uttered a fearful yell, to which the rest replied and then springing among his followers, brandishing his tomahawk, he seized a youth, who seemed daized, threw him a cross his shoulder, retreated inside of the ring which closed round him—placed the captive's face on the ground and pretended to scalp him. Then turning him over rapidly, he appeared intent in opening his breast with his tomahawk and collecting in his hand the blood, which he raised to his mouth, as if he wished to drink it, uttering ferocious howls. The lookers, on thought the scene was real, when the chief sprang on his legs, with a shout of triumph and brandished over his head a real scalp painted red, which he had cunningly pulled from under his belt whilst, the young Indian, recovering his liberty ran like lightning along Fabrique street.

The redskins after dancing wildly and yelling like so many demons let loose from the infernal regions, finally dispersed: the city sank in quiet again. The savages which were able, re-crossed to Point Levis: those, too intoxicated, slept about the upper and lower-town streets. Fortunately, these unwelcome visits occurred rarely;" As late, however, as 1846, the Micmac and Montagnais Indians, from the north shore and the Restigouche river, were in the habit of ascending each summer the St. Lawrence, in canoes, and build their wigwams on the beach of Levis, south-west of the St. Joseph Church, where they used to spend a part of the season. ¹

Quebec ships crossing the ocean, and ascending the St. Lawrence this year, had to guard against dangers quite as formidable as those of ice-bergs, rocks and shoals. On the 19th August 1797, the masters of the ships composing the Quebec fleet, ² grateful for a safe escape from French frigates and privateers, presented an address to Capts. Larcom and Talbot, of H. M. Ships *Hind*, and *Eurydice*, thanking them for having safely convoyed them to their port of destination.

The grand old national gathering, religiously kept up each 31st December, by the survivors of Guy Carleton's *fire-eaters*, the Veterans, who in 1775, had depriv-

¹ It had been customary for the Imperial authorities, to have distributed each year, to the Indians on their annual visit to Quebec, blankets, cloth, hats and other wearing apparel, in commemoration of the services they or their ancestors had rendered during the war of the American Invasion, in 1775.

² The Quebec fleet consisted of: the *Ariadne*, *Eurella*, *Regent*, *Nancy*, *London*, *Mary*, *Spencer*, *Three Sisters*, *Salus*, *Chatty*, *Earl of Marchmont*, *Bee*, *Ibbolton*, *Assistance*, *Sovereign*, *Chrisa Frances*.

ed Quebec, of the purity of republican institutions, is again advertised. It will take place, this year, on Saturday, the 30th December, (the 31st being the sabbath) at the UNION COFFEE HOUSE "dinner to be on table at four." The stewards are brave old John Coffin (he, of *Près-de-Ville* fame, we opine) William Cox, a relative possibly of Major Nicholas Cox, Lieutenant-Governor of Gaspé, one of the heroes of 1775,¹ Charles Liard, John Munro and William Burns,² *Secretary*. Mr. Burns died possessed of considerable wealth. Amongst the loyal Veterans, toasting George the King, in their prime old Port and "London particular" Madeira, Col. Henry Caldwell, Wolfe's quarter master General and commander of the British Militia, in 1775, held a high place, as well as loyal Francois Baby, and George Pownall.

After 1800, trace is lost of this famous annual dinner; though, one of the leading spirits in this patriotic banquet, Col. Henry Caldwell, closed his career, as late as 1810.³

¹ On Wednesday, the 8th of January (1794), died aged seventy, Nicholas Cox, Esq., Lieutenant-Governor of Gaspé, and Superintendent of the Labrador Fisheries. In early life, he embraced the military profession, and faithfully served his King and country upwards of fifty-two years. He was present at the sieges of Louisbourg and Quebec, and commanded a company of the 47th Regt. on the Plains of Abraham in the ever memorable battle of the 13th September, 1759. In the gallant defence of this garrison during the winter of 1775, and the spring of 1776, he was appointed by Lord Dorchester to do duty as a field officer.—(*Quebec Gazette*, 10th January 1794).

² Mr. Burns of the firm of Burns and Woolsey, leading auctioneers of that day: the god-father of the millionaire George Burns Symes, who with his name, received as a gift £10,000, we believe.

³ In 1794, the dinner had taken place on the 6th May, at Ferguson's Hotel; Stewards: Hon. A. de Bonne, Hon. J. Walker, Simon Fraser, James Frost, John Coffin, Jr., Secretary. The 6th of May commemorated the raising of the siege and departure of the Americans in 1776.

Some eighty years ago, on the site on which was erected, at the beginning of the century, the English Cathedral, there stood a rude and vast quadrangular building, with a court, and a well-stocked orchard. In 1776, it had been used to immure the American prisoners, taken at Montgomery and Arnold's baffled assault on Quebec.

In it, Mr. (afterwards Judge) John Joseph Henry, had spent, as appears by his Journal, some dreary days, during that memorable winter. It was a monastery ¹ of the order of St. Francis. The superior, a well-known, witty, jovial, and eccentric personage. Father DeBerrey had more than once dined and wined His Royal Highness, the Duke of Kent, when stationed here, with his Regiment, in 1791-3.

On a calm, warm September afternoon, in 1796, the fire drum all at once began to beat frantically in the upper-town, the *tocsin*, to sound from the Roman Catholic Cathedral; soon a dense smoke enveloped the stables of Judge Dunn's ² house in St. Louis street; a small, coloured boy named Michel, the Judge's servant, had fired off a toy-cannon in the stable, and accidentally set fire to it. A violent south-west wind springing up at that moment, burning fragments

¹ Three years previous it had been contemplated to appropriate this Convent to Protestant worship.

"We hear that the Revd. Père Berrey, only surviving Père of the order of Recollets, in Quebec, is to give up the Church and Convent of that order to be converted into an English Church, and residence for the Protestant Bishop. Government will of course allow him a handsome annuity during life. (*Quebec Gazette*, 19th Sept., 1793.)

² Mr. DeGaspé in his *Mémoires*, describes the house in St. Louis street as belonging to Judge Monk, whilst Deputy Commissary General Thompson states it was owned by Judge Dunn.

were deposited as far as the Ursulines Convent, the roof of which at three distinct times ignited, a drought of six weeks duration had dried up the shingles like chips. Suddenly the cry arose, that the steeple of the old Recollet Convent, on Garden street, was in a blaze, a burning shingle carried on the wings of the hurricane, had lodged in the belfry. Father De Berrey, the Roman Catholic Clergy, the citizens, all worked with a will to stay the destroyer; all worked in vain.

The fiery demon gaining strength as it ran along, bore clouds of cinders, ignited paper, charred shingles, all over the lower-town. H. M's Frigate *Pallas*, Captain Lord Cochrane, moored in the stream, opposite Cape Diamond, fearing the fiery cloud should set her rigging on fire, slipped her cable, and drifted below the harbour with the ebb tide. The old pile was destroyed, the poor monks, rendered homeless; they dispersed.

Father DeBerrey found shelter under the hospitable roof of Mr. François Duval, in St. Louis street. Frère Marc, settled at St. Thomas, and earned for forty years his livelyhood by mending clocks. Frère Louis,¹ opened a school in St. Vallier street, where each summer his lovely flower garden and luscious plums became famous. Another Frère became a mariner between Montreal and Quebec. There were also Frère Bernard and Frère Bernardin. The Government, on the dispersion of the order, took possession of the vacant lot. Such was the melancholy end of

¹ Nè, Louis-François Martinet dit Bonamie; he expired here in August 1848, and was buried at St. Roch on the 12th August, 1848, —aged 83 years.

the old Franciscan Monastery, on Garden street, by fire, on the 6th September 1796. Our city annals for the ensuing year furnish an incident of quite a different nature: the execution of David McLane, for high treason.

No trials are more calculated to excite the public sentiment than those proceeding from political motifs. Such was that of Colonel David McLane *alias* Jacob Felt.¹

The 7th of July 1797 was a busy, a very busy day for Chief Justice Osgood. From 7 a. m., to 9 p. m., he was engaged at Court, trying on an indictment for high treason, prepared by the Advocate General Jonathan Sewell,—David McLane; an American subject. The Jury, formed of the leading lower town merchants ² of English origin was composed of men of intelligence; the charge was “for having conspired the death of the King and levied war against his Crown and dignity.”

Two eminent counsels of the Quebec Bar, Messrs. Pyke and Franklin, were named *ex-officio* by Judge Osgood, to defend the prisoner, whose case brought together an unusually large concourse of spectators. If strong sympathy was subsequently shewn to-

¹ The trial of David McLane was published in pamphlet form, in 1797, by Mr. Neilson, of the *Quebec Gazette*; in addition to the gathering of the facts, the writer has devoted considerable time to collect the minute circumstances of this memorable execution.

² John Blackwood.

John Crawford.

John Painter.

David Monro.

John Mure.

John Jones.

James Irvine.

James Orkney.

James Mason Goddard.

Henry Cull.

Robert Morrogh.

George Symes.

wards the misguided man, we are inclined to ascribe it more to the unusual and revolting nature of the form of the *old world* sentence meted out to the unfortunate monomaniac, than to any feeling that he was convicted on insufficient evidence. This was the first trial for high treason, under British rule.

David McLane was apprehended at John Black's house, in St. John's suburbs, whilst in bed, on the 10th May 1797. At his trial he represented himself as a bankrupt trader, formerly of Providence, Rhode-Island, and stated, also, he was a General in the service of the French Republic, acting under the immediate direction of M. Adet, the French Minister or *chargé d'affaires*, in the United States. It appeared in evidence that he had stated the French Republic was to furnish a fleet and an army of 10,000 to take Quebec, and that he was to lead a party from the United States (to be composed chiefly of raftsmen, armed with pikes and iron spears) who, with the cooperation of the disaffected amongst the French Canadians, were to over power the garrison. M. De Gaspé, in his "*Canadians of Old*," has described minutely the atrocious accompaniments of the execution which he witnessed. "It has, says he, been surmised that by these revolting barbarities, the Government intended to strike terror amongst the disaffected, who might be inclined to favor the views of Republican France, on this English colony.

"Artillery and a body of troops paraded the streets and accompanied the prisoner to the place of execution, on the glacis, out side of St. John's Gate, facing the site now occupied by the School of the *Christian Brothers*. I saw McLane, he was seated

(on a sledge whose runners grated on the earth and stones) with his back to the horse, an axe and block stood on the front of the sledge. The unfortunate man gazed on the spectators with an aspect calm but not defiant. McLane was of high stature and remarkably handsome. I heard women of the lower classes whilst bewailing his fate, exclaim: "Ah! if things were as of yore, some girl would come forward and claim him as her future husband." Such sayings continued even after his death.

"This popular belief, took its origin, I imagine, in the fact, that French captives among the Indians, who were doomed to die, had in many instances owed their lives to Indian women claiming them for husbands.

"McLane's sentence¹ was not carried out to the letter. I saw the whole thing with my own eyes. A big school boy named Boudrault, from time to time, raised me up in his arms, so that I should witness every incident of this butchery. Old Dr. Duvert was near us; he pulled out his watch, as soon as Ward, the executioner, had withdrawn the ladder on which rested McLane, lying on his back, with the rope round his neck, hanging from the gallows; the body, then struck the northern side of

¹ Chief Justice Osgoode delivered the sentence as follows: "That you, David McLane, be taken to the place from whence you came, and from thence you are to be drawn to the place of execution, where you must be hanged by the neck, but not till you are dead, for you must be cut down alive and your bowels taken out and burnt before your face; then your head must be severed from your body, which must be divided into four parts, and your head and quarters be at the King's disposal; and may the Lord have mercy on your soul."

—(*Quebec Gazette*, 3rd August 1797.)

the gallows post, and remained stationary after a few jerks.

"He is stone dead," said Dr. Duvert, when the executioner cut the rope at the end of the twenty-five minutes; "he will be insensible to what shall follow." We all thought that he was to be disembowelled alive and witness the burning of his entrails, as the sentence purported; McLane was really dead when Ward opened his body, took out the heart and bowels, which he burnt on a *réchaud*; he then cut off his head and held up this bloody trophy to the gaze of the crowd. The spectators, the nearest to the gallows, said that the executioner had refused to enforce the sentence literally, saying that he might be an executioner, but he was not a butcher; that it was merely by dint of gold guineas, the Sheriff succeeded in making him carry out the sentence, and that at each act of the terrible drama, he insisted on more pay. Be this it may, Ward became, in his outward appearance, an important personage: when he walked in the streets, he wore silk stockings, a sword and three cornered hat; two watches, with silver chains, completed his toilette."

Though in the past, attempts were occasionally made to stir up discord amongst our citizens, there appears more than once, traces of enlarged patriotism and loyalty to the mother country, animating all classes. This seems conspicuous in the public invitation by the men of both nationalities, inserted in a public journal, for 1799, to form a national fund in order to help England on, with the war waged against France; this invitation not only bears the signatures of leading English citizens but also those of several

Quebecers of French extraction, with old and historical names :

Hon. William Osgood, C. Justice,	Hon. John Young,
" François Baby,	" Louis Dunière,
" Hugh Finlay,	" J. Sewell,
" J. A. Panet,	" John Craigie,
" Thos. Dunn,	" Wm. Grant,
" Ant. Juchereau Duchesnay,	" Rob. Lester,
" George Pownall,	" Jas. Sheppard, Sheriff.

Mr. Panet, one of the signers, was Speaker of our Commons for twenty-two years ; later on, the City journals contain the amounts subscribed, as well as the names of the subscribers : ¹

1 J. Quebec.....	£300	0	0
Wm. Osgood.....	300	0	0
George Pownall.....	100	Guineas	
Henry Caldwell.....	£300	0	0
Geo. W. Taylor, per annum during the war.....	5	0	0
A. J. Raby, " " ".....	5	0	0
Geo Heriot, " " ".....	50	0	0
Chs. De Lery, " " ".....	12	0	0
John Blackwood, " " ".....	10	0	0
Wm. Burns, " " ".....	20	0	0
Le Séminaire de Québec " " ".....	50	0	0
J. A. Panet, " " ".....	30	0	0
John Wurtelle, " " ".....	4	0	0
Wm. Grant, " " ".....	32	4	5
Wm. Boutillier, " " ".....	3	10	0
Juchereau Duchesnay, " " ".....	20	0	0
James Grossman, " " ".....	10	0	0
Henry Brown, " " ".....	0	10	0
Thos. Dunn, " " ".....	66	0	0
Peter Beatson, " " ".....	23	6	8
Antoine Nadeau, " " ".....	0	6	0
Robert Lester, " " ".....	30	0	0
Le Coadjut. de Québec, " " ".....	25	0	0
Thos. Scott, " " ".....	20	0	0
Chs. Stewart, " " ".....	11	2	2
Samuel Holland, " " ".....	20	0	0
Jenkin Williams, " " ".....	55	11	1
François Baby, " " ".....	40	0	0
G. Elz. Tachereau, " " ".....	10	0	0
M. Tachereau, curé de St. Croix, " " ".....	5	0	0
Thos. Tachereau, " " ".....	5	0	0
Monro & Bell, " " ".....	100	0	0
J. Stewart, " " ".....	11	13	4

Revolutionary and Regicide France seems to have inspired horror and disgust to all classes in Quebec, in 1799.¹

Sir Michael Foster tells of a very ancient (though not venerable) custom, resorted to in the remotest times of the monarchy, by the admiralty, to procure seamen, for the King's service in times of need, viz: by impressing them.

Was this, a right forming part of the common law of England? This may yet be a fair subject of debate.

Two imperial statutes, the 2 Rich. II, c. 4 and the 5 Eliz. c. 5, stipulated who could be exempted from this atrocious mode of conscription, for instance persons under 18 years or above 55 years of age. The impressing was performed by squads of seamen, popularly known as Press Gangs. The annals of good city furnish several instances of impressing in the streets of the lower-town, upper-town and suburbs, some of them, through the resistance of the victims, ending in bloodshed.

In 1807, when England required every able bodied seamen in her dominions to man her fleets, opposed to those of France, it was highly dangerous, for a Quebec youth, of stalwart frame to wander after nightfall from the paternal roof, if aught in

Louis Dumon, per annum during the war	23	6	8
Revd Frs. De Montmolin, " "	10	0	0
Xavier De Lanaudière, " "	23	6	8
Peter Stewart, " "	11	2	2
Messire Raimbault, Ange-Gardien, " "	4	13	4
" Villase, Ste. Marie, " "	4	13	4
" Bernard Panet, Rivière-Ouelle, " "	5	0	0
" Jacques Panet, Islet, " "	25	0	0

¹ See *Quebec Gazette*, 4th July, 1799.

" " " 29th August, 1799.

his language or demeanor denoted him as familiar with the sea. Naturally enough the Press Gang, to city youths and city parents, was an object of terror; the streets of Quebec, after dark were then as dangerous as those of Liverpool or Portsmouth. More than one roystering blade,—and some of good families too,—after falling in the claws of the Press Gang, found themselves, next morning, on the deck of some of the trim frigates anchored under the guns of Cape Diamond. Years after, with countenance bronzed mayhap by tropical suns, the long missing “Willie” would occasionally return to his Canadian home, a wiser, if not a braver man.¹

Slavery with us, is a thing of the past; it was so, we may say, at the beginning of the century. Though the colony can boast of having abolished domestic slavery long before our progressive neighbors succeeded to stamp it out of the “land of freedom,” after wading knee-deep in the blue blood of the South, its origin and existence at Quebec is not without interest.

The *Relations des Jésuites*,² tell how in 1628, a black boy from Madagascar was sold at Quebec, by

¹ Amongst other victims of this barbarous institution, enforced from 1807 to 1814, during the life and death struggle between England and Imperial France, an athletic young mariner, of the Island of Orleans, was kidnapped in a lower-town coffee house, and after faithfully serving His Majesty King III, on board a man-of-war for twelve years, he returned to his Island home, and subsequently became a respected *pater familias*. His name was Barthelemy Lachance; one of his sons, who died within a few years, was the parish physician, Dr. Lachance; as athletic in shape as his late farm and well remembered in Quebec.

² Relations des Jésuites for 1632, page 12.

“ “ “ 1633, “ 2-5.

one of the Kirkes, to one Le Bailly, for fifty half crowns—*cinquante écus*. This is the earliest trace of the "domestic institution" we can discover. Our colonial archives and legislation bear provisions, relating to slavery as early as 1689. Leave that year was asked from the French King, and permitted for the importation of slaves from the Indies, on account of the scarcity of labour. This subject engaged the attention of several Canadian writers—Garneau, Jacq. Viger, Bibaud, Judge Lafontaine. Sir L. H. Lafontaine, in an exhaustive disquisition to be found amongst the publications of the *Société Historique de Montréal*, sets forth the authorities bearing on the question. After enumerating the *Déclarations Royales* and other regulations under French dominion, he quotes the article 47 of the Capitulation of Montreal of 8th September, 1760, to show that slavery was maintained and recognised by the Capitulation.

Article 47. "The negroes and Panis of both sexes shall remain in their quality of slaves in the possession of the French and Canadians, to whom they belong. They shall be at liberty to keep them in their service in the colony, or to sell them, and they may also continue to bring them up, in the Roman religion.

"Granted, except those who shall have been made prisoners."

The learned Judge then quotes several judgments, and suits from the records of the Montreal Court House, calling attention to the numerous advertisements to be found in the fyles of the old *Quebec Gazette*, touching the sale or desertion of slaves. In

the year 1784, amongst others, we find the following :

"To be sold by private sale—A lively healthy negro Wench, between 15 and 16 years of age, brought up in the Province of New-York; understands all sorts of house-work, and has had the small-pox. Any person desirous of purchasing such a Wench, may see her at the house of Mr. John Brooks, in the Upper Town, where the conditions of sale may be made known, and if she should not be sold before the 20th instant, she will on that day be exposed to public sale."¹

"In 1780, at Montreal, Patrick Langan sells to John Mittleberger, a negro named Nero, by private deed bearing warranty, for £60, and Mittleberger in 1788, on this clause of warranty brings suit before the Court of Common Pleas, against Brigadier General Allan McLean."

"The Baron of Longueuil," says Bibaud, "had slaves on his barony; and in Western Canada, the famous Chief Tyendenaga owned forty slaves."

The Parliament of the Province of Quebec, during the 1st session, on the 28th January, on motion of P. L. Panet, seconded by M. Duval, proposed, and it was unanimously carried, that a bill be introduced "tending to the abolition of slavery in the Province of Lower Canada."

On the 19th of April 1793, the House resolved itself into a committee for the same purpose, when, strange to say, on motion of M. de Bonne, carried, on a division of thirty-one against three, it was resolved that said Bill do remain on the table. As Mr. Viger has observed, no ulterior proceedings on the subject,

¹ (*Quebec Gazette*, 13th May, 1784.)

seem to have been taken from the 19th April 1793, to the 19th April 1799, when it was revived on a petition from divers inhabitants of Montreal, presented by Mr. Joseph Papineau. It is fair to state that though the first move to put down slavery in Canada originated with the Quebec Legislature, it is to the action of the Upper Canada Legislature, especially during its second session, held at Newark, near Niagara, on 31st of May 1793 that the credit of removing this foul stain on civilisation is due, by the introduction of a "Bill to prevent the further introduction of slaves, and to limit the term of contracts for servitude within the Province."

In 1800, the days of the traffic in human flesh, had nearly come to a close at Quebec. Wilberforce had long before proclaimed the emancipation of the blacks, amongst the freemen of England. We find in the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, about that time, divers bills introduced to erase this blot on humanity which finally disappeared in 1803, when Chief Justice Osgood declared in Montreal, that negro bondage, was at variance with the laws of the country. The Imperial Act 3rd and 4th, William IV., Cap: seventy-three, sanctioned in London, 28th August 1833, abolished slavery throughout the British Empire, from 1st August, 1834.

Quebec was gradually awakening. To the public spirit and enterprise of the Honorable John Molson, is due the first establishment of steam navigation, between Quebec and Montreal.

On Saturday, 6th November 1809, at 8 o'clock, the steamboat ACCOMMODATION, arrived with ten passengers, after a passage of sixty-six hours, thirty of

which she was at anchor: crowds hurried down Mountain Hill all that day and the following, anxious to see the extraordinary vessel, as the *Mercury* Newspaper "stated, which no wind nor tide could stop." She measured 75 feet keel and 85 feet on deck: price of passage down, \$8, and \$9 up. It was considered necessary to give some explanations on the motive power of such a nautical phenomenon. The *Mercury* therefore added: "The steamboat receives her impulse from an open double spoked, perpendicular wheel, on each side, without any circular band or vine. To the end of each double spoke is fixed a square board which enters the water, and by the rotatory motion of the wheel acts like a paddle. The wheels are put and kept in motion by steam, operating within the vessel. A mast is to be fixed in her for the purpose of using a sail when the wind is favorable, which will occasionally accelerate her head way."

Steam navigation, it must be confessed, has made some progress on the St. Lawrence, since the days of the ACCOMMODATION: instead of sixty-six hours to perform the passage, our floating palaces, the *Quebec* and *Montreal* steam through easily in ten hours; their length of keel is upwards of 300 feet.

We are drifting towards thrilling times.

Party spirit,—antipathies of race are on the increase. The Corsican Ogre is the master of continental Europe. Nothing to check the swoop of his victorious eagles; nothing, save that little Island, opposite Calais—so insignificant as to territory, so strong by the pluck of its inhabitants, their genius for commerce, their love of freedom. Napoleon has vowed to chain

up the "British Leopard." A deadly feud exists between the two foremost nations of the old world: their very existence seems at stake. Think you, their descendants in the new world will look on unconcerned, and if not openly, at least secretly, won't take sides? Capital after capital, kneels at the footstool of the French Emperor. Is this likely to make those speaking his language, at Quebec, more submissive, more reconciled to their fallen fortunes? On the other hand, is it likely the crushing victories of Cape St. Vincent, of the Nile, of Trafalgar, will render their fellow subjects who rejoice in Chatham's tongue more courteous, more conciliating?

The French Canadians had suffered many slights and some manifest wrongs, at the hands of the masters, the fate of arms had given them: their sensitive nature caused them to magnify occasionally into national insults, acts which on the part of others might have passed unnoticed. Such the dissolving elements, England's new Vice-roy had to knit together, in one harmonious whole. For such a delicate mission, conciliation was required; this was not one of the Vice-Roy's virtues.

On the 18th October 1807, the *Horatio* frigate brought us a new ruler, Sir James Henry Craig, a stern old soldier in ill-health, though at heart a just, nay even, a compassionate man. War between England and France; budding hostility on the part of the United States; a French Canadian parliamentary majority at Quebec, powerful and not over friendly—such the state of the *Kingdom*, "little king Craig,"¹

¹ Governor Craig was called, says Mr. De Gaspé, "the little King" from his stern, despotic rule.

was called on, to administer. Fear or half measures, never entered into the mind of little king Craig.

The year 1810, became memorable in the city by an incident affecting the liberty of the Press. Four years previous, a French Journal still in existence, "*Le Canadien*" had been founded—it advocated constitutional freedom and would not be satisfied with the fragments of the British constitution doled out—the whole was demanded. This journal, most ably edited had attacked strenuously Sir James Craig's policy in the House of Assembly.

On the 17th March 1810, a party of soldiers, armed with a warrant issued by Chief Justice Sewell and accompanied by a magistrate entered the Printing Office of *Le Canadien*, seized type, paper and presses and removed the whole to the vaults of the Court House. The guards in the mean time were strengthened, and patrols sent in all directions through the City, as if an insurrection were expected. The public struck at these appearances of unusual precautions remained in suspense. The printer Mr. Lefrançois, was apprehended and three days after three of the leading members of the Assembly, Messrs Bedard, Tachereau and Blanchet, were also arrested and sent to jail, for their supposed participation, in the contents of the alleged "seditious" paper. They remained in durance a long term asking in vain, for the privilege of every British subject—a trial, which was denied them.

This has been considered one of the most arbitrary acts, committed since a Hanoverian Sovereign has ruled Canada.

Quebec had had its five sieges : it providentially

escaped a sixth, when our American cousins, on the 18th June 1812, for a British quarrel, levied war against us; their forces under General Hull, invading Canada, on the 12th July following. The mother-country had for years, been engaged in a deadly struggle, with the first Napoleon: she had on hand, in Europe, as much as she could well manage; a golden opportunity for those who owed her no love, in America. Nor was it lost: her haughtiness in asserting on the high seas, the tyrannical RIGHT OF SEARCH, hastened the evil hour. The city,—beyond witnessing the departure for the front, of her regulars led by the gallant General Brock; and her "Invincible Voltigeurs" led by De Salabery, Duchesnay, Pinguet, L'Ecuyer, Perrault, &c.,—entrenched behind her lofty walls, enjoyed comparative quiet, the sedentary militia doing garrison duty until 3rd August 1812, when reinforcements of troops arrived.

Exciting times they were, those warlike days of 1812. Some of the Veterans of that period, still moving among us, tell with kindling eye, of the demonstrative joy, on every face you would meet, when the Citadel or Grand Battery guns, roared out a salute, in honor of the victories of Chateauguay—Beaver Dam—Queenston Heights—Chrysler's Farm; and of the sorrow and sympathy, which marked the arrival of the news of the death of the esteemed and well remembered soldier Isaac Brock, who for eight years had dwelled as a familiar spirit in their midst.¹

¹ Brigadier General Isaac Brock was stationed with his Regiment, the 49th, at Quebec, from 1802 to July 1810, when Sir James Craig ent him to take command of the troops in Upper Canada, where he

The war of 1812 which extended over three years 1812-13-14 furnishes a glorious record, for the diverse races, who inhabit the soil. As Col. Coffin, truthfully observes, "its souvenir quickens the pulse — vibrates through the frame, summoning from the pregnant past, memories of suffering and endurance, and of honorable exertion." The people of Canada at large are proud of the men, and of the deeds, and of the recollections of those days. Quebec is equally proud of her worthies.

War had been declared to Great Britain by Congress, on the 18th June 1812—and on the 24th the event was known at Quebec.....a notification was immediately made by the police, that all American citizens must leave Quebec by the 1st July, and be out of the limits of that district by the third of the same month. On the last day of June the period was extended by the Governor's Proclamation; fourteen days were allowed to such Americans as were in the province, as they were principally persons who had entered it, in good faith and in the prosecution of commercial pursuits. On the same day, proclamations issued imposing an embargo upon the shipping in the port and convoking the Legislature for the

became Lieutenant Governor and Administrator in 1811: he fell at Queenston Heights, 13th October 1812. We take pleasure in chronicling even the merest local circumstance connected with this remarkable man, so long a denizen of Quebec. "The tall old bachelor," says our friend, Col. John Sewell, "who served in the 49th, under Brock, occupied amongst other houses, the old tenement since burnt down, and rebuilt by the nuns, at the corner of Garden and Parloir streets, opposite the Ursuline Chapel, as well as the antique dwelling—the second from the top of Fabrique street, now occupied by Fisher and Blouin, sadlers. The gallant Isaac Brock was born in the Island of Guernsey in 1769—the same year as Napoleon and Wellington."

16th July.¹ A curious episode of this war was the removal to Quebec of the captive American, (General) Winfield Scott, who was escorted by some of the officers of our Quebec Cavalry, (Messrs. Sheppard, H. Gowen, John Musson,) to the building then owned at Beauport, by Judge DeBonne, now forming part of the LUNATIC ASYLUM; he was released when peace was proclaimed and lived to cull laurels, in the war of the United States with Mexico, in 1847.

¹ Christie's History of Canada, Vol. II.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DAWN OF PROGRESS.

1815—1841.

SIR JOHN COPE SHERBROOKE, 1816 — FOUNDATION OF THE QUEBEC BANK, 1818. — THE DUKE OF RICHMOND, 1818. — SIR PEREGRINE MAITLAND, 1820. — EARL OF DALHOUSIE, 1820. — THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1824. — MONUMENT TO WOLFE AND MONTCALM, 1827. — THE PIONEER OF ATLANTIC STEAMERS, 1831. — CHOLERA, 1832. — INCORPORATION OF THE CITY, 1833. — CHOLERA, 1834. — THE INSURRECTION OF 1837-8. — LORD DURHAM, 1838.

The twenty-six years comprised between the close of the American war and the reunion of the two Provinces, will blend in our annals much light and shade. Progress had to fight its way, against civil discord—the clang of arms—parliamentary feuds: Sounder views in commerce, gradually prevailed. In Montreal, as well as in Quebec, the torpidity of the old routine was giving away. Banks ceased to be viewed as engines of commercial fraud; some even dared to assert, that properly managed, they ought to turn out as auxiliaries to trade. Energetic members of the mercantile community agitated in, and out of, Parliament, the expediency of founding such associations.

Thus, sprung up in Montreal, the Montreal Bank, in 1817; the year after, in 1818, a few successful St. Peter street merchants, started the Quebec Bank; it was regularly incorporated in 1821.¹

In June 1818, Mr. Lewis, on behalf of the widow of the late Brigadier General Montgomery, applied to Sir John Cope Sherbrooke, the Governor General of Canada, for leave¹ to transfer his uncle, the late General's remains, to New-York. Sir John Cope

¹ See *Quebec Bank*, in second part of volume.

¹ Montgomery's Will was made a few days only before the storming of Quebec. The authenticity of this document is attested by the signature of Benedict Arnold. It is still in existence, though the paper is yellow and worn, after a hundred years.

"Through the courtesy of the English General Carleton, the body of Montgomery was buried within the walls of Quebec, where it remained for forty-three years. It was then brought to New York City, in compliance with an Act of the Legislature. This was done by order of Governor Clinton, in the summer of 1818.

"On the appointed day, Governor Clinton informed Mrs. Montgomery that the body of the General would pass down the Hudson. After lying in state in Albany, it was to be taken to New York, on the steamboat *Richmond*. Mrs. Montgomery, by the aid of a glass, could watch the boat pass Montgomery Place, which was the name she had given to the estate near Barrytown.

"We give her own words describing the mournful pageant in a letter to her niece, in quaint and touching terms:—"At length," she wrote. "They came by, with all that remained of a beloved husband who left me in the bloom of manhood, a perfect being. Alas! how did he return? However, gratifying to my heart, yet to my feelings, every pang I felt was renewed. The pomp with which it was conducted, added to my woe when the steamboat passed with slow and solemn movement stopping before my house, the troops under arms, the Dead March from the muffled drum, the mournful music, the splendid coffin canopied with crape and crowned by plumes. You may conceive my anguish. I cannot describe it. Such voluntary honours were never before paid to an individual by a republic, and to Governor Clinton's munificence much in owing." The body was buried in St. Paul's Church under the cenotaph which had been erected by Congress many years before."

Sherbrooke, deputed one of his Aide-de-Camp, Capt. Noah Freer, (subsequently the popular Cashier's of the Quebec Bank), to superintended this melancholy duty. The remains were accordingly taken up by Mr. James Thompson, from the grave wherein, he had himself seen them deposited forty-three years before, and confided to the nephew of Mrs. Montgomery, for removal to the United States.

Ship building became quite an institution in 1824; our worthy grand fathers were at that time much perplexed about a Scotch scheme, to build in the vicinity of Quebec, two mammoth ships. To describing these leviathans, we shall devote a few lines.

The first Napoleon liked to compare the brightest—the purest, the softest of all sunshines to that of the Sun which dawned on Austerlitz, on the morn of his celebrated victory. For years, to a patriotic Frenchman, sunshine in all its beauty, was summed up by one phrase, *Un soleil d'Austerlitz*.

Quebecers, the year of grace 1824, had also their *Soleil d'Austerlitz*—a cloudless sky to solemnise a victory—a bloodless one—the triumph of skill over matter, the realisation of a scheme, as a commercial (we dare not say, a naval) venture, of startling magnitude, due like thousands of others, to the inventive brain of a Scotchman

Neilson's *Gazette* had announced, to take place on the 28th July 1824, the launching of a colossal ship—a Great Eastern, in fact, for those times.

The *Columbus*, 3,700 tons, built by Mr. A. Woods, of Glasgow, for a Scotch company, was on that morning, to glide into the glad waters of the St. Lawrence, from *Anse-du-Fort*, at the western end of

the Island of Orleans, four miles from the city. A halo of mystery had surrounded the origin, and object, of the big ship. Was she really built, to brave for years the tempests of the deep? or was she put together merely to reach the other side of the great "herring pond," to be then broken up and thus, cheat His Britannic Majesty's Customs, of their dues on square pine, and oak timber?

On that auspicious July morning, the atmosphere was a marvel of limpidity. To this fact, all testify.

The seven steamers in port had each its living load of curious spectators. Joviality and good fellowship reigned supreme amongst the 5,000 citizens, and strangers from other cities, attracted to the launch. The *Malsham*, the *Swiftsure*, the *Sherbrooke*, the *Hercules*, &c., followed by one hundred boats, were decked out, with gay flags, and bright pennons. Levis, on the opposite shore, two miles distant, was dotted with excited crowds, watching for the signal.....

Who was the damsel fair who on that auspicious occasion, smashed the bottle of sparkling wine? Alas! who.....?

As the monster ship springs to the arms of old ocean, hark! to the loyal strains of the Scotch pibroch, from the 71st Highlanders, located on the deck of the *Swiftsure*, whilst the 68th Regiment from the beach, struck up "God save the King."

The *Gazette* makes mention of artists from afar, having come expressly to sketch the pageant. This 28th July was a day to be remembered by our fathers, half a century ago: a red letter day in their annals.

Scarcely was the COLUMBUS¹ afloat, ere her mate the BARON OF RENFREW,² was placed on the stocks : she was launched on the 25th July of the following year (1825). Neither the first or last of these monster "flat batteaux" turned out a success.

After being towed to Bic, by the steamer *Hercules*, the COLUMBUS ran aground on the Betsiamis shoals, and had to throw over board some of her cargo, which consisted of timber, before crossing the Atlantic. She eventually reached England, but was lost at sea, on a subsequent voyage, to St. John, New-Brunswick.

The BARON OF RENFREW was wrecked on the shores of Britain and floated over to the French coast.

The formation of "*The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec*," took place in 1824, originating in the patriotic feeling and anxiety for the honor and the welfare of the Province, which characterised the Earl of Dalhousie, its noble founder and patron. One of its chief promoters, was the late Dr. John Charlton Fisher, L.L.D., heretofore one of the joint Editors of the New-York *Albion*—a gentleman of refined

¹ Dimensions of the Columbus : 3,690 tons.

Length : 301 feet.

Breadth : 50 " 7 inches.

Depth : 29 " 4 "

She carried four masts.

² Dimensions of the Baron of Renfrew : 5,888 tons.

Length : 309 feet.

Breadth : 60 "

Depth inside : 38 "

" outside : 57 "

Weight of anchor : 90 cwt.

literary taste.¹ The purposes of the society were, by an address to the public issued shortly after its institution, declared to be, the investigation of points of history immediately connected with Canada.—“*To discover and rescue from the unsparing hand of time the records which yet remain of the earliest history of Canada. To preserve, while in our power, such documents as may be found amid the dust of yet unexplored depositaries, and which may prove important to general history and to the particular history of this province.*” Men of learning and taste were invited to join the Society and did join in considerable number.

¹ At a meeting of the Society, held at the Castle of St. Lewis, on Monday, the 15th March, 1824, by-laws were agreed upon and the following officers named: Founder and Patron—His Excellency the Earl of Dalhousie, G. C. B. & C.; President, His Excellency Sir Francis Nathaniel Burton, K. C. G.; Vice-Presidents, Chief Justice Sewell and Vallières de St. Real, Esq.; Recording-Secretary, William Green, Esq.; Treasurer and Recording-Secretary, John C. Fisher, Esq.; L. L. D. In 1829, it amalgamated with “*The Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Trades*,” founded in 1827, chiefly by French Canadians of distinction.

On the 5th October, 1831, the Society was incorporated by Royal Charter: we then find amongst its members, the *élite* of our Quebec Society,—The Earl of Dalhousie, Sir James Kempt, T. C. Aylwin, Capt. W. Bayfield, Hy. Black, Col. J. Bouchette, R. S. M. Bouchette, Jos. Bouchette, Judge Burton, John Caldwell, R. E. Caron, A. W. Cochrane, Dominick Daly, Messire Jérôme Demers, R. D’Estimauxville, W. B. Felton, J. C. Fisher, F. X. Garneau, Ls. Gagy, John Hall, André-Rémi Hamel, Jos. Hamel, Jas. Harkness, Wm. Kemble, Jas. H. Kerr, Pierre Laforce, Louis Lagueux, Pierre de Salles Laterrière, Hy. LeMesurier, W. K. McCord, Roderick McKenzie, Jos. Morrin, Geo. J. Mountain, F.-X. Pereaute, Jos. Frs. Pereaute, Francis Ward Primrose, Wm. Price, Randolph J. Routh, William Sax, Jonathan Sewell, William Sheppard, Revd. Chs. Jas. Stewart, Bishop of the Diocese, Revd. Joseph Signay, Andrew Stuart, Jean Thomas-Taschereau, Jos. Rémi Vallières, George Vanfelson, N. F. Belleau, Geo. Usborn, Gustavus Wicksteed, Dr. Daniel Wilkie, *cum multis aliis*.

Hawkins observes that the idea of erecting a monument to Wolfe and Montcalm may have been suggested to the mind of the Earl of Dalhousie, then Governor General, by a perusal of the letter of M. de Bougainville, to the Earl of Chatham, then Secretary of State, enclosing a copy of an inscription for an intended monument to be erected at Quebec, to the memory of Montcalm by the French Government. The answer of Lord Chatham, speaking no doubt the sentiments of the youthful Monarch, George. III, was conceived in the most generous spirit. The marble slab with the inscription was engraved, and shipped for Canada; but the vessel never reached her destination.

On the 1st November 1827, Lord Dalhousie, called a meeting at the St. Lewis castle for the purpose of advising to the means of erecting a monument to the memory of Wolfe and Montcalm. A subscription was opened at the meeting, and on the 15th of the same month, the foundation stone was laid in the presence of a large and respectable assemblage of spectators. The work was commenced by John Philipps, the builder, in the following spring, and the subscriptions, which amounted to \$2,000, being inadequate to defray the expenses, the liberality of Lord Dalhousie supplied the rest. It was completed on the 8th September 1828, by Lord Dalhousie. On the 15th November 1827, the first stone had been laid with extraordinary pomp and masonic honours, R. W. Grand Master Claude Dénéchaud, Seigneur of Berthier, supported by R. W. Dy. Thos. Oliva, on his right and P. Dy. G. James Thompson, on his left, with two grand deacons heading the procession.

The apex or cap stone was placed on the summit a few minutes after eight o'clock in the morning; the ceremony of tapping it with the mallet was performed by the Earl's nephew and A. D. C., Capt. Fox Maule of the 79th, as proxy for the noble Earl, who that day embarked for England.

The plan and elevation of the intended monument, designed and executed by Capt. Young, 79th Highlanders, was presented to Lady Dalhousie.

The ceremony finished with a *feu de joie* from the garrison, after which the Regiment presented arms, the Bands playing the National air. Three British cheers then rent the air, given by the troops and spectators to the memory of British valor and French galantry. Menacing ruin, it was rebuilt in 1869 with the same materials and in the very same form as before. The expenses of this reconstruction were defrayed by subscriptions, and these being insufficient, our fellow townsman Henry Fry, Esquire, generously supplied what was wanted.

This monument, is strictly classical in the proportions of every part. To the top of the surbase is sixteen feet from the ground. On this rests the sarcophagus, seven feet, eight inches high. The obelisk measures forty-two feet eight inches and the apex two feet one inch, making in the whole sixty-five feet from the ground. The dimensions of the obelisk at the base are six feet by four feet eight inches, tapering conically to the apex, when the sides are diminished to three feet two inches by two feet five inches. A most curious feature of the pageant was the procession, led by French Canadian worshipful Fræemasons.

The following inscription, composed by Dr. Fisher, is carved on the front of the sarcophagus :

MORTEM. VIRTUS. COMMUNEM.
FAMAM. HISTORIA.
MONUMENTUM. POSTERITAS.
DEDIT.

On the rear is the following, altered from that which was inscribed upon the plate deposited with the foundation stone :

HUJUSCE
MONUMENTI IN VIROB. ILLUSTRIUM MEMORIAM,
WOLFE ET MONTCALM,
FUNDAMENTUM P. C.
GEORGIUS COMES DE DALHOUSIE;
IN SEPTENTRIONALIS AMERICÆ PARTIBUS
AD BRITANNOS PERTINENTIBUS
SUMMAM RERUM ADMINISTRANS;
OPUS PER MULTOS ANNOS PRÆTERMISSUM,
QUID DUCI EGREGIO CONVENIENTIUS?
AUCTORITATE PROMOVENS, EXEMPLO STIMULANS,
MUNIFICENTIA FOVENS.
A. S. MDCCCXXVII.
GEORGIO IV. BRITANNIARUM REGE.

On the north side of the sarcophagus, looking to the country, is the simple word "MONTCALM," in large characters; and on the opposite side, that towards the river by which he reached the scene of his glorious victory and death, is inscribed the name of "WOLFE."

The following lines were written on the occasion of laying the first stone of the monument, the Latin tetrastick by (Dr. Fisher) the author of the prize inscription :

WOLFE—MONTCALM.
HABD ACIES EADEM—AST EADEM FATALIS ARENA—
COMMVNIS VIRTUS—ATQVE PERENNE DECUS—
VICTRIX CAUSA PAREM MERITIS ET VICTA FAVOREM
VINDICAT—ÆTERNUM VIVERE FAMA DEDIT.

Five years previous to the trip across the Atlantic of the *Sirius* and the *Great Western*, a Quebec craft had steamed to England.

"The steamer *Royal William*, of 1,370 tons, built at Quebec, by a company incorporated by act of the legislature, at a cost of £16,000, to run between this port and Halifax, touching at Miramichi and the other intermediate ports, commenced her first trip in August, (1831.) She continued running for the present and ensuing year, but the enterprize not turning out profitable, although encouraged by legislative aid, was finally abandoned." ¹

The first steamship which crossed the Atlantic Ocean, was drafted by George Black, at *Anse-des-Mères*, in the shipyard of Messrs. Shephard & Campbell. She was commanded by Capt. John McDougall, a native of Argyleshire, Scotland. Having failed to sell her in England, Capt. MacDougall, took her to Spain and sold her to the Spanish Government, at that time at war. Capt. MacDougall retained command of her, in providing that Government with provi-

¹ M. Stevenson was the agent for this vessel—she was towed to Montreal to receive the machinery and engines made by Bennet and Henderson, St. Mary's Foundry. Whilst in Halifax, the *Royal William* was repeatedly visited by Sir Samuel Cunard, who lost no opportunity to enquire every particular regarding her speed, sea qualities consumption of fuel; carefully noting down all the information obtained, "which (says Mr. J. G. Danter, 2nd Engineer on board,) doubtless enabled him to establishe the magnificent fleet of ocean steamships that still bear his name."

"The steamer *Royal William* 617 tons burthen, and 276 horse-power, sailed from this port (Liverpool) to New-York, with passengers only, July 5th, and returned August 19th, her outward passage was performed in 19 days, and her homeward in 14½ days. This vessel has the honour of being the first steamer from this Port to cross the Atlantic."

(From the *Annals of Liverpool*, as printed in Gore's Directory.)

sions; after the war was over, he returned to England, where he taught navigation. In 1847, he left England for Canada and settled at Quebec. Capt. MacDougall died here in 1853 or 1854 and was buried in Mount Hermon Cemetery. The following letter addressed to the late Robert Christie, Esq., the historian, by Capt. MacDougall, in 1853, throws much light on this *Modern Argo*.¹ The model of this Pioneer Steamer,

¹ SAINTE FOYE, 10th August, 1853.

Robert Christie, Esq., M. P., P.

DEAR SIR,—I lately found some papers connected with the *Royal William* steamer, which brought to my recollection my promise to furnish you with a brief sketch of her history while I was attached to her, from the 19th of April, 1833, to the first of January, 1838.

I took charge of her at Sorel after she was sold by Sheriff's sale, from Capt. Nicolas, and was employed during the month of May, towing vessels from Grosse-Isle, and afterwards made a voyage to Gaspé, Pictou, Halifax, and Boston in the United States, being the first British steamer that entered that port. On my return to Quebec, the owners decided on sending her to London to be sold, and I left for London, via Pictou, on the 5th of August, and was detained at Pictou until the 18th, repairing the engines and boilers, and receiving coals.

I then started for London, and was about twenty days on the passage, having run six or seven days with the larboard engine, in consequence of the starboard engine being disabled, and was detained at different times, about a week laying too, repairing the boilers, which had become very leaky.

About the latter end of September, the *Royal William* was sold by Messrs. Geo. Wildes & Co., (the agents to whom she was consigned,) to Mr. Joseph Somes, the ship owner of Radcliff, through Messrs. Wilcox & Anderson, for £10,000 sterling, and chartered to the Portuguese Government to take out troops for Don Pedro's service, and on my arrival in Lisbon offered to them for sale, as a vessel of war, but rejected by their admiral, Count Cape Saint Vincent, the present admiral Sir Charles Napier.

I then returned to London with invalids and disbanded soldiers from Don Pedro's service, and laid her up off Deptford Victualling Office. In July, I received orders to fit her out to run between Oporto

was recently presented to the *Literary and Historical Society* and is on view at the rooms.

"Those persons who remember Quebec in the first outbreak of the cholera in 1832, must be growing old, and their number every year diminishing, but some there are still living, who retain a vivid memory of that season of dread. On the 8th June, of that year, a fearful rumour prevailed the city: it was currently stated, though the city Press took care to deny it, that one of the passengers, an emigrant, of the Brig *Carricks*, from Dublin, and recently detained in quarantine, at Grosse-Isle, had expired" in a boarding house, of one Roche, in Champlain street, of asiatic cholera.

and Lisbon, and made one trip between these ports to Cadix for specie for the Portuguese Government, and on my return to Lisbon, I received orders to dispose of her to the Spanish Government, through the Spanish Ambassador at Lisbon, Don Evanston Castor de Perez, which was completed on the 10th September, 1834; her name was changed to *Ysabel Segunda*, being the first war steamer the Spaniards ever possessed, and Commodore Henry hoisted his broad pennant on board as Commodore of the first class, and Commander in Chief of the British Auxiliary Steam Squadron to be employed on the north Coast of Spain against Don Carlos. I joined the Spanish service under him with the rank and pay of a commander, but with a special agreement by which I was guaranteed £600 sterling per annum, and under a contract to supply the squadron with provisions from Lisbon. We proceeded to the north coast of Spain, and about the latter part of 1834, returned to Gravesend for the purpose of delivering her up to the British Government to be converted into a war steamer at their dock yard; the crew and officers were transferred to the *Royal Tar*, chartered and armed as a war steamer, with six long thirty-two pounders, and named the *Reyna Governadoza*, the name intended for *City of Edinburg* steamer which was chartered, and then fitting up as a war steamer, to form part of the squadron. When completed, she relieved the *Royal Tar* and took her name.

The *Isabel Segunda*, when completed at Sheerness dock yard, took

Fifty-six persons died of cholera in this one house during the season of 1832. It was further rumored that the plague-ship, had lost on her long passage, forty-two souls, amongst the emigrants she conveyed to Canada. Next day, seven deaths occurred; the city Press had to announce the dreadful news and warn the citizens.

That year some 30,000 Irish emigrants were on their way to Canada, in sailing vessels, the passage lasting from four to twelve weeks.

“ Never since the days of Wolfe and Montcalm,

out General Alava, the spanish Ambassador and General Evans and the most of his staff officers to Saint Andero, and afterwards to Saint Sebastien, having hoisted the commodore's broad pennant again at Saint Andero, and was afterwards employed in cruizing between that port and Fuénti Arabia, and acting in concert with the Legion against Don Carlos, until the time of their service expired in 1837. She was then sent to Portsmouth with a part of those discharged from the service and from thence she was taken to London, and detained in the city canal by Commodore Henry, until the claims of the officers and crew on the Spanish Government were settled; this was ultimately accomplished by bills, and the officers, and crew discharged from the Spanish service, about the latter end of 1837, and the Isabel Segunda delivered up to the Spanish Ambassador, and after having her engines repaired, returned to Spain and was soon afterwards sent to Bordeaux in France to have her hull repaired. But on being surveyed it was found that the timbers were so much decayed, that it was decided to build a new vessel to receive the engines, which was built there and called by the same name, and now forms one of the Royal Steam Navy of Spain, while her predecessor was converted into a hulk at Bordeaux. She is justly entitled to be considered the first steamer that crossed the Atlantic by steam, having steamed the whole way across, while the Savannah American steam ship, which crossed in 1822 to Liverpool and Petersburg, sailed the most part of the way going and returning.

I remain, dear sir, your most obedient,

JOHN McDUGALL.

(*Christie's Hist.*, of Canada Vol. V, P. 362.)

had the city witnessed such scenes of terror, sorrow and suffering. Instead of the boom of cannon, the crash of balls, and the tramp of armed men, there was the noiseless progress of a destroyer that the stoutest walls and the most watchful sentries were alike powerless to keep out. Instead of the rush of blood and the moans of those dying of mortal wounds, received in battle with mortals like themselves, there were groans and cries from those suffering torture from blows from an unseen foe, as swift and sure and far harder to ward off, than sword or bullet.

“As the pestilence spread, it gradually assumed the fearful features that so appal us in the old chronicles of the plague, in the cities of the Eastern Hemisphere. Properly made coffins, and regular orthodox funeral rites, were, in most cases, per force, dispensed with; instead, wide and deep trenches were dug and in these were placed the dead, cased in boxes roughly made of unplanned boards nailed together. They were laid tier on tier and when full, were covered with earth. One undoubted case of premature interment there was, and in such a time of excitement, there *might* have been others. God alone knoweth.

“Persons who could do so, left the city, in many cases only to find, that the poison of the disease was already in their systems and died, in what they fondly hoped would be a safe refuge.”

The poorer class of emigrants were peculiar sufferers from the cholera. From over crowding and want of ventilation and comforts, many were attacked with the disease immediately on landing and died.

It is very sad to think of these poor people, cheered perhaps under the grief of leaving home and friends, by the hope of finding a better country and more prosperity in the new land that had fallen to their lot, than in the old, and then merely to cross the wide Atlantic, to find a grave.

In some cases whole families of emigrants were swept off; in others, only the parents were taken, and little children too young to do anything for their support were left, in a strange land, to charity; charitable aid however was neither faint, nor stinted these poor little orphans, after a brief period of desolation, were transferred to respectable and comfortable homes; their training, education and out-set in life was probably far better than it would have been, had their parents lived.

The hospital in Quebec was filled to overflowing; the medical officers attached to it had a trying time and the unavoidable hard work¹ was greatly aggravated by anxiety caused by the difficulty of getting proper nurses and a sufficient number of them.

Even the high wages offered failed to tempt many,

¹ Our old friend, Dr. R. Von Iffland, who was then attending the St. John suburb Cholera hospital, which with its canvas tents, stood on the vacant lot close to the R. C. Church in St. John suburbs is built, informs us that for him these duties for two weeks occupied the hours of the day and those of the night as well; that though he snatched a few hours of sleep, when nature gave out, he had not removed his boots, during this period and when he did, the flesh adhered to the sole leather. About the time of the death of Judge Tachereau, he tells of his confrère, Dr. Pereault, who persisted one evening, to go and dine with a friend, on fresh salmon, inspite of his warning. Anxious, next morning, to know why Dr. Pereault, was not at his post as usual, he went to enquire, and was told, he had died in the night, and had then, been an hour buried.

and of those who did engage, some would leave on the evening of their first day.¹ Indeed, this practice became so common that, at last, the Commissioners of the hospital made a rule, that no nurse was to be paid until the evening of the third day; in spite of this, cases were known of nurses leaving on the evening of the second day, preferring to lose their wages altogether than to stay another twenty-four hours, amid the fatigue, and witnessing the dreadful suffering that surrounded them on all sides.

Quebec has been visited six times by the asiatic scourge: a rapid glance at the number of victims each year, from the time when the city in 1832, had neither drainage, nor pure water to the year 1852, when those much needed improvements had taken place, exhibits the gradual moderation of the disease. In 1854, the cholera was confined chiefly to the emigrants who landed in crowds on our shores, and attained the figure of 800 fatal cases. We subjoin the lamentable record of 1832.

¹ The following table shows the progress of the scourge.

1832.	Deaths.	1832.	Deaths.
June 9	6.	June 21	122.
" 10	7.	" 22	70.
" 11	29.	" 23	78.
" 12	77.	" 24	34.
" 13	70.	" 25	33.
" 14	92.	" 26	49.
" 15	143.	" 27	40.
" 16	120.	" 28	31.
" 17	97.	" 29	38.
" 18	108.	" 30	33.
" 19	112.	July 1	31.
" 20	117.	" 2	21.

Cholera seems to have begun at the following dates, and furnishes the following figures :

	Deaths.
8 June 1832.....	3451
7 July 1834.....	2509
4 " 1849.....	1185
— June 1851.....	280
25 Sept 1852.....	145
20 June 1854.....	803
	<hr/> 8368

The first case of Asiatic Cholera in Quebec in 1849, was one McGill, a shoemaker, in Champlain street, who died in a few hours, on the 4th of July.

The first case of Cholera in 1851, was a German gentleman from New-York, who died at Swords' Hotel, St. Louis street, now the St. Louis Hotel.

In 1852, a man named Knight, a laborer, on board the ship *Advance*, from New-York, was the first case.

In 1854, it was the *Glenmanna*, who brought the disease to the Grosse Isle Quarantine Station, whence the *John Howells* transported it into the city.

In 1832, 1834 and 1854 Asiatic Cholera was brought into Canada, by the St. Lawrence *via* Quebec; and in 1849, 1851, and 1852, from the United States. In the first instances, travelling from East to West, striking at Quebec first; and in the latter, the reverse: attacking Quebec last.¹

¹ The facts connected with Asiatic Cholera have been contributed by Dr. Marsden. Many of them have been published already and will be found in an *Essay on the contagion, infection, portability and communicability of the Asiatic Cholera in its relations to Quarantine, with a history of its origin and course in Canada, from 1832*, by W. Marsden, A.M., M.D., ex Pres. Col. Phys. and Surg. Lower Canada; ex President Canadian Medical Association, Dominion of Canada: Hon. Fel. Medico; Bot. Soc. Lond.; Cor. Fel. Med. Soc. Lond. Hon. Fel. Med. Soc. and L. Nat. Hist. Becks; Hon. Fel. Med. Chir. Soc. N. York; Cor. Fel. Obst. Soc. Edinburg, and many others.

In the universal alarm, there were many laudable instances of moral courage and fearless devotion, amongst our medical men. It is pleasing to be able to point, amongst the Physicians who daily risked their lives in the hospitals, to the names of those a kind Providence has still spared in the land of the living. The cause of suffering humanity, then as now claimed Drs. Von Iffland, Marsden, Lyons, Douglas ; others equally devoted, Dr. Morrin, Painchaud, Tessier, Andrews, Blanchette, Leslie, Pereault, Parent, O'Callaghan have gone to there long rest.

Brigands, of high and low degree, in 1836-7, had found in the crown prosecutor, Her Majesty's Attorney-General, Richard Ogden, a most uncompromising foe. Not a citizen in Quebec, in the summer of 1837, but would have voted him a statue of vast dimensions, for expediting, well-ironed, in a vessel (the Brig *Ceres*, Capt. Squire) for Van Dieman's land, nineteen of the biggest rascals Quebec could muster in those days.

Ever since 1832, a skilfully organized gang of house breakers, and murderers, infested the suburbs of Quebec, the waters of the St. Lawrence, the green woods of Cap Rouge. Mysterious robberies were repeated, accompanied with murder, sacrilege and other heinous crimes. No clue existed.

First, in 1832, came the news from Goose Island of the foul murder of two young Englishmen, formerly in the navy, who had fitted up vessels to raise anchors lost in the St. Lawrence : the Griffith brothers. Next fell, cruelly butchered, Capt. Sivrac, the keeper of a small light house in the *Richelieu*, near Pointe Platon. An old lady living in the St. Helen street, Mrs. Montgomery, was robbed of her valuables, the

house thieves having first rapped her up, as well as her maid servant, in a carpet and stowed her in the cellar; Mr. H. Atkinson's iron chest was next abstracted at night from his office, in St. James street, and found empty on a sand bank, at the entrance of the St. Charles; the Beauport Church was shortly after rifled of its sacred vases, poor box, &c.; and the simple-minded, innocent old beadle sent to jail, at the instigation of the gentlemanly captain of the band, that night, an unsuspected inmate of the *presbytère*, as the guest of M. *le Curé*.

The most startling robbery of all, was that which took place on the 9th February 1835, at the "Congregation" Church, on the Esplanade, near the National School. The chalices, crucifixes, &c., stolen were sent to Broughton and then brought back to Cape Rouge woods (as appeared in evidence) where they were melted down in crucibles. This capped the climax. At last the long suspected captain of this nefarious association, Mr. William C—— of St. Roch, lumber merchant, was arrested as well as his guilty associates, Waterworth, Gagnon, Mathieu, Knox, Norris, &c. Waterworth, a young man less hardened, turned King's evidence; the murderous crew were tried, convicted and transported in 1837; nineteen convicts in all left for Van Dieman's land. Quebec began to breath in peace.

The Capital of the Province—or rather its House of Assembly, in 1837, and for years past, had been the head-quarters of political discontent. Some remarkable men, at that period, had the ear of the people; Louis-Joseph Papineau, daily entranced excited audiences by the magic of his oratory—a king

of men was he. The halls of the Assembly rang with the denunciations of the brilliant Andrew Stuart, the defender of British rights, whilst his gifted brother Sir James Stuart (for many years our Chief Justice), thundered against the tyranny of a privileged bureaucracy; and the upright and wise John Neilson, sought justice without attempting to produce rebellion. Quebec had crowds of patriots of divers aims and different nationalities. Mr. Papi-neau continued his stirring appeals until a breach so wide had taken place, that a resort to arms seemed unavoidable. Notwithstanding the frenzy which seized hold of many minds, there was no "rising" here. The good sense of the people, supplemented by the display of bristling cannons on the walls and the numerous bayonets on the citadel, saved the city from the lamentable scenes, witnessed in the district of Montreal. From this insurrection, sprung reform and Responsible Government.

Elsewhere, I have described the "Volunteer days of 1837-8." ¹

There never was as grand a display of vice-regal pomp, military and naval pageantry at Quebec; never were the *Château Levées*, receptions and balls more decorously attended (the Windsor ceremonies having been this year introduced); never was our far-stretching port studded in such profusion, with the panoply of naval warfare, since the flag of Britain floats on our waters, as during the summer of 1838. On the 27th May, of that year, there had landed, at the Queen's wharf, amidst admiring crowds, one of England's proudest noblemen, the

¹ See *Maple Leaves*. New series 1873, page 252.

Earl of Durham¹ from H. M. S. *Hastings*, 74, escorted by stately line of battle ships, frigates, gunboats, steamships, &c. The great Earl had for his guard of honor, some of the Queen's household troops, the Grenadiers and Coldstream Guards, &c.;

¹ On the 17th May 1838, the remainder of the Coldstream guards landed from the *Edinburgh*, 74, and marched to the Citadel Barracks. (See *Gazette*, 18th May.)

On the 21st May, H. M. Ship *Racehorse*, 18, from Bermuda.

" " H. M. " *Pique*, Capt Boxer.

In port at the same time, H. M. " *Malabar*, 74.

The *Quebec Gazette* of 28th May 1838, thus describes the arrival of the Earl of Durham and suite, on the 27th: Her Majesty's ship *Hastings*, 74, arrived yesterday, having on board the Right Honorable the Earl of Durham, Governor General of British North America, the Countess of Durham, family and suite.

The streets and wharves were immediately crowded with the inhabitants, in the expectation of His Excellency's landing. At one o'clock the whole of the inhabitants of the city and suburbs seemed to be collecting in the lower-town; the following, we believe, is a correct list of the passengers of the *Hastings*:

Earl and Countess of Durham and family,	
Mr. and Mrs. Ellice, Miss Balfour,	
Mr. Charles Buller, Chief-Secretary,	
Mr. Turton, Legal adviser,	
The Hon. E. P. Bouverie,	} Attachés.
Mr. Arthur Buller,	
Mr. Bushe,	

Hon. Frederick Villiers, Capt. Ponsonby, Hon. C. A. Dillon, Frederick Cavendish, Esq, Sir John Doratt, physician.

On the 6th June, arrived H. M. S. *Andromache*, 28; shortly after arrived H. M. S. *Hercules*, 74. We read also of H. M. S. *Madagascar*, 46, H. M. S. *Medea* and *Vestal*, and H. M. schooner *Skipjack* coming into port.

" The *Hastings*, 74, Captain E. E. Loch, fitting in grand style, at Sheerness, will be accompanied with a Government armed steamer, which will convey the Earl of Durham to the different points of inspection, where a large ship of war could not ride in safety. The horses and equipage will be shipped in a day or two, and are expected to sail about the 10th. The *Hastings* will be joined by several other

for his *suite*, a bevy of titled English gentlemen ; for his advisers, men of undoubted talent.²

The spacious Parliament buildings, a handsome cutstone structure, destroyed in 1854 by fire, was fitted up for His Excellency ; the remaining wing of the old *Chateau* being too small to accommodate the Earl's gorgeous retinue : a royal standard floated from the cupola of his residence. On the 4th June, the citizens presented him with an address of welcome. Then came Lady Durham's reception ; on the anniversary of the Queen's coronation, there was a ball and reception, followed by a brilliant illumination at night in the city and on board of the

vessels from the West India Station, and arrangements have been made by the Lords of the Admiralty, for a good supply of gun-boats from the Islands, to protect the landing of troops."

CAVALRY—LIFE GUARDS.—One squadron of this Regiment goes to Canada, horses, &c., as a guard of honor to Lord Durham.

ROYAL HORSE GUARDS.—One squadron of this Regiment is to go to Canada, as a guard of honor to Lord Durham." (*Quebec Gazette*, May 1838.)

² Neilson's *Gazette* of the 26th September 1838, contains a paragraph on the " burning in effigy " of Lord Brougham, at Quebec. It was something new for Quebecers to burn (even in effigy), Imperial statesmen. After a sojourn of five months, the Earl of Durham suddenly left his charge on the 3rd November, to the regret of his many colonial admirers and hurried to England to attempt explaining, but in vain, the legality of his unconstitutional, though merciful, ordinances. The haughty and generous Earl refused to accept of any salary and handed over these emoluments towards the expenses incurred to repair the Government houses at Quebec and at Montreal. His presence within our walls was marked by the interest he took in improving the *Chateau* terrace, which he had repaired ; it since, bears his name, DURHAM TERRACE. The ruins of the old *Chateau*, burnt in 1834, were removed—they had been a constant menace to the lower-town. The old city Watch disappeared and was replaced by an efficient system of City Police. There remains to Canada a lasting monument of state craft—Lord Durham's famous Report.

vessels of war in the harbor ; their masts and shrouds were but one blaze of light. The profusion of naval and military men, crowding our streets, gave the city quite a festive air. Never had the gold and blue of the navy, the scarlet uniforms of the Life-Guards and Grenadier guards, mingled in finer contrast, with the sober black coats of civilians or solemn garb of priest or bishop on reception day. To his colonial subjects, the haughty, impetuous and spirited little potentate was kindness and condescension itself.

The munificence, the princely hospitality, the entire devotion to Canadian affairs of the new Governor General, soon became the universal theme of conversation. The Earl of Durham next visited Western Canada ; whilst his clever advisers called far and wide, for information, data and material, touching provincial wants—provincial abuses—provincial reforms—why the outbreak occurred in 1837 ? why it did not previously occur ? The famous ordinances banishing to Bermuda the fiery patriots, R. S. M. Bouchette, R. Des Rivières, L. H. Masson, Wolfred Nelson, H. A. Gauvin, S. Marchessault, J. H. Goddu, B. Viger, were framed ; Brougham and Lyndhurst were preparing their parliamentary thunder, and Lord Glenelg and colleagues opposing thereto the feeblest of artillery.

Great Britain having confided to the proud Earl, a most delicate duty, that of the pacification of her Canadian possessions, seemed desirous by magnificent preparations at home as well as abroad, to surround his mission, with every possible *éclat*. Lord Durham was more than a Governor General ; as High Commissioner, he seemed from his acts to believe his powers

were quasi-regal. He came to investigate our many grievances—to probe and salve over, the sores of the body politic, which had then so lately broken out. It did one's heart good to see the earnestness with which he assailed the abuses of the colonial system; and when, in the eyes of his bitter Imperial detractors, Lords Broughan and Lyndhurst, he appeared as having overstepped constitutional bounds—it was inspiring to see the manliness with which he tore himself away and rushed to England to confront his merciless accusers, as well as his weak supporters, Lord Glenelg, &c. For all that, we must not shut our eyes to the errors he committed in deserting his Government without leave and in mixing up, with the honorable statesmen who were his advisers here, men like Sir T. E. M. Turton and Edward Gibbon Wakefield, the latter, notorious in English circles, for the abduction of the youthful Miss Turner—equally notorious in Canada, for his intrigues and rapacity. With the constitutionality of the Earl's Bermuda Ordinances, as annalist of Quebec, we have little to do; this falls to the province of the general historian. Taken all in all, the Earl of Durham was one of the truest friends misruled Canada ever had.

CHAPTER IX.

1841—1867.

THE BUILDING ERA.

THE GREAT FIRES OF 1845. — CONFLAGRATION OF THE THEATRE, 1846. —
STONE REPLACING WOODEN BUILDINGS. — OCEAN MAIL STEAMERS, 1852.
— GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY, 1853. — TELEGRAPHS. — CITY WATER
WORK, 1853. — GAS, 1849. — LOSS OF "MONTREAL" STEAMER,
1857. — ALTERNATE PARLIAMENTS. — THE ST. ROCH FIRE, 1866. —
THE QUEBEC CONFERENCE FOR CONFEDERATION. — FENIAN SCARE, 1866

The re-union of the two Provinces, Upper and Lower Canada, in 1841, was pregnant with undreamed of changes. Instead of a small knot of fiery politicians, assembling each winter, in the halls of parliament, on Mountain hill, to encourage one another in the hatred of England, the common band of an enlarged nationality comprised statesmen differing in language, in faith, in nationality,—hailing from localities widely apart—from Gaspé to Sarnia.

The national festival of French Canadians for Quebec, dates back to 1842; for Montreal, to 1834. The late Dr. P. M. Bardy, may be considered its founder in Quebec, whilst in Montreal, Ludger Du-

vernay, esquire, the originator of the *Minerve* Newspaper, can claim this honor.

In 1842, the Jesuits expelled since 1764, returned to Quebec.

Let us ere we set forth some of the results of the new state of things, chronicle a startling accident.

On the 17th May 1841, at 11 o'clock a. m., one of those distressing occurrences not uncommon in our day, spread consternation amongst the denizens of Champlain street. This time, it was not an overhanging pile of snow toppling over, but masses of stone and earth from the lofty cliffs of Cape Diamond giving away in the neighborhood of the old Custom House, now occupied by the Marine and Fishery Department and by the Water Police. In the twinkling of an eye, eight buildings were crushed to atoms and some thirty-two human beings consigned to an awful doom.¹ Some days later, viz., on the 4th June, alarm was again created by a further movement of part of the overhanging rock and rubbish from the cape, opposite to the Custom House. The collector of the Customs, Mr. Jessup, therefore, felt it his duty to remove the office from such a dangerous locality and engaged the house in Peter street, formerly occupied as the Montreal Bank, belonging to Henry Atkinson, esquire, and on which site the present Quebec Bank was built in 1863.

About this period the news reached here of the probable loss of the steamer *President* with 27 passengers, of whom Lord Fitzroy Lennox, a son of our

¹ Amongst other victims: Mr. and Mrs. Gaulin (she died of lockjaw a few days after), Messrs. Côté, Chartier, Considine, Miss Young, Robert McKibbin, policeman, &c.

previous Governor, the Duke of Richmond, was one—this young officer was a Lieutenant in the 43rd, a regiment well-remembered here, as having travelled up by land to Quebec from Halifax, during the winter of 1837. The ill-fated steamer contained two other British officers—Mr. Courtney, of the Royal Regiment, and Mr. H. Dundas, of the Royal navy; also the eminent Irish comedian, Tyrone Power.

“ On the 28th of May 1845, the day being scorchingly hot, with a high wind and clouds of dust rushing along the roads, the bells of the churches of St. Roch rang out the well-known alarm of fire. Richardson's large tannery, in St. Vallier street, was in a blaze, and the roofs of the adjoining houses, covered with shingles, heated almost to the point of ignition by the sun, the immediate application of the fire to make them also burn was scarcely necessary. For nearly an hour the fire was confined to the tannery; but about mid-day, the wind increased and carried the burning embers far and wide. The houses on the cliff above caught; below in the suburb of St. Roch, several houses, situated much apart from other, simultaneously began to burn; the heat and the wind more and more increased; the narrow streets were filled with people rushing madly to and fro, removing articles of furniture to some supposed place of safety; fire-engines were being hurled along from place to place as fast as horses could gallop; carts rattled about, loaded and unloaded; vehicles of all descriptions were mixed up with men, women, and children; soldiers were tearing down houses, if possible to arrest the progress of the devouring element; but still, lifted up by the

wind, the fire leaped into other streets, and far away to leeward the red plague was seen bursting up through the wooden roofs and the planked roads; overhead and on every side, there was fire. It was only arrested at six in the evening, by the blowing up of two houses in the Rue Canoterie, near Hope Gate; the whole of the populous suburb of St. Roch having been destroyed. Nearly for a mile was one mass of flames. Churches, ship-yards, everything, had been burnt over. Next day, many half consumed bodies lay about, and also the carcasses of a great number of horses and cattle. This was surely a calamitous enough occurrence for one year; but Providence had ordained it otherwise. On the same day of the following month of June, at midnight, the cry of fire again arose. In a house not far from St. John's Gate, a conflagration had begun, which was not to be ended until the whole of St. John suburb met the fate which St. Roch had already experienced. The weather was still hot, and simultaneously through the houses or from roofs the flames rose high into the air, sweeping up, as far as the toll gate, one side of St. John street, and the whole of St. George and the other streets, to the *Cime du Cap*, above St. Roch, then spreading slowly upwards towards St. Lewis suburb, by daybreak, in spite of the repeated blowing up of houses with gunpowder. Scarce a vestige of the suburb remained, except the chimnies of what once were houses. The very tombstones in the church-yard were defaced and the headboards destroyed.

"In these two fires sixteen thousand people were burned out; £560,000 worth of property destroyed,

and upwards of forty human beings perished. Insurance had been effected to the amount of £125,000 or \$500,000. A relief committee was promptly formed. The merchants and some of the public institutions subscribed largely towards the relief of the sufferers: and appeals were made to England, the United States, and indeed to the world, for aid, which was promptly afforded, upwards of £100,000 having been subscribed. The Queen caused charity sermons to be preached throughout the United Kingdom and showed an example herself by munificently subscribing toward the relief fund. In a very short time, the suburbs were rebuilt in a more substantial manner, and the streets widened and otherwise improved; bricks and stones were used in building instead of wood, and two suburbs have arisen upon the ruins of the former ones, pleasant to look upon.¹

The prostration experienced by the citizens from the wide spread destruction and ruin, caused by the great fires, did not last long: nor was it an unmitigated evil. The citizens learned at their cost, that there was danger in crowding together, in narrow streets, thousands of wooden tenements—that brick and stone were not only more durable but also less combustible than wood. From the deepest desolation, progress stepped forth—the era of substantial and elegant cut-stone, and fire brick dwellings. To that period may be traced mostly all the modern stone houses on the Esplanade—on the Cape—the fire and red brick dwellings in the suburbs. Phoenix like, the city rose from her ashes. The benevolence of the public was not appealed to in vain—a relief fund

¹ Charles Rogers "Quebec, Past and Present."

exceeding £100,000 was raised from the subscription of our wealthy citizens—from other cities, from England. A loan of \$300,000 was granted by the Legislature repayable in twenty years to rebuild the city. The streets were straightened-widened; altogether a new life seemed to pervade all classes.

Scarcely had the city recovered from the scenes of dismay and ruin, caused by the great fires of May and June, 1845, when another conflagration, much more dreadful on account of the number of lives destroyed, startled the citizens.

Crowds had been daily attracted, to the "Old Riding School," at Durham terrace, converted into a Theatre, since the closing of Sewell's theatre in Ste. Helen street. On the evening of the 12th June, 1846, at ten o'clock, the cathedral's and other bells sounded the fire alarm.

The Messrs. Harrison, from Hamilton, had been exhibiting during the week, in the above place, their illuminated Diorama. At the close of the evening's exhibition, when the audience were leaving the room, a camphine lamp suspended from the ceiling accidentally fell and ignited the curtain in front of the stage. Instantly the place was in a blaze; and the theatre being crowded, in the rush which ensued to escape from the flames, (the only mode of egress being through a narrow passage,) not less than from forty-five to fifty human beings perished. Forty-three of the bodies were got out of the ruins, some of them awfully mutilated, others only partially disfigured, having apparently died from suffocation. Providentially a considerable number of the audience had got out before the alarm

was given; otherwise the loss of life would have been much greater. The weather at the time was calm, there being scarcely a breath of wind, through which and the exertions of the military, the fire companies and the police, the conflagration was confined to the building in which it originated. ¹

¹ The following is a list of the names of the sufferers :

Horatio Carwell, Merchant ; Horatio, his son ; Ann, his daughter.
Joseph Tardif ; Olivette Fisette, his wife.

Sarah Darah, wife of John Calvin, carter.

Jas. O'Leary, aged 22, plasterer ; Mary O'Leary, his sister, aged 18.

J. J. Sims, apothecary ; Rebecca, his daughter, aged 23, Kenneth, his son, aged 13.

Mary O'Brien, aged 26, wife of John Lilly, tailor.

J. Bte. Vézina, Shop-keeper, aged 30.

Henriette Glackemeyer, (Mrs. Molt) ; J. F. Molt, and Adolphe Molt, her sons, aged 19 and 12.

Emeline Worth, aged 9, (daughter of E. Worth, Montreal, sister of Mrs. Lenfesty.)

F. C. Sauvageau, son of the musician, aged 14.

Elizabeth Lindsay, wife of Thomas Atkins ; Richard Atkins, her son, aged 27.

Stewart Scott, clerk, Court of Appeals.

Thos. Hamilton, Lieut. 14th Regt., aged 26.

Mrs. John Gibb, and Jane, her daughter, aged 17.

Arthur Lane, aged 19, son of E. Lane, of the firm of Gibb, Lane & Co.

Mary Ann Brown, school-mistress at Wood & Grey's school, Cove.

Marie Louise Lavallée, wife of R. McDonald, editor of the *Canadien* ;
Eugenie McDonald, her daughter, wife of R. Anger.

E. R. Hoogs, book-keeper, Montreal Bank ; James Hoogs and Edward Hoogs, his sons, aged 8 and 6.

Thos. C. Harrison, aged 21, from Hamilton, C. W., brother to the owner of the Diorama.

John Berry, from Aberdeen, Scotland.

Isaac Develin, watch-maker.

Miss Rae, daughter, of Assist. Com. Gen. Rae.

John Wheatley, stationer.

One woman and three other bodies unknown.

Helen Murphy, an orphan, aged 20.

Jane, daughter of Stewart Scott, Esquire, clerk Court of Appeals.

"A general gloom was thrown over the city by this fearful calamity, which occurred as near as may be, midway between the two periods of the fires of last year; all the melancholy recollections of which are added to the yet more disastrous circumstances of the present catastrophe. In the preceding list, our readers will observe the names of many of our most respected citizens, whose loss is felt not only by the respective families to which they belonged, but by the community of which they formed a part.

The funerals of all the sufferers, except three or four, took place yesterday. From an early hour in the morning till seven in the evening, funeral processions were passing through the streets, to the different places of interment. So melancholy a sight had not been witnessed in Quebec since the time of the cholera. At one time there were fifteen coffins in the French cathedral, waiting for the last rites of the church to be said over the mutilated remains contained in them. At the English burial ground there were four clergymen present: three Episcopalian and one Presbyterian, discharging the last sad duties of their office to members of their respective flocks.

Joseph Marcoux, bailiff.
Colin Ross.

Agnes Black, aged 18, wife of Colin Ross, a native of Inverness, Scotland. The deceased was a daughter of widow Black, of Montreal.

Ann Taffe, late servant with James Denholm, esquire, Cape.

John Smith Kane, son of Mr. John Kane, tinsmith, of this city.

Miss Emilie Poncy, sister of Miss Poncy. The Misses Poncy had for a number of years kept a respectable boarding-house in the Lower Town

Mr. McKenzie, of Malbaie.

The Wesleyan Methodist minister was likewise engaged during the afternoon in their performance of a similar duty. In fact, every religious body in the city, with one or two exceptions, had suffered more or less by this desolating calamity. And here we would notice the very large attendance at two or three of the funerals, especially at those of Messrs. SCOTT and CARWELL, both of whom being members of the Albion Lodge of Old Fellows, were accompanied by the brethren of the order to their final resting place. They marched in advance of the hearse, two abreast, all of them, with scarcely an exception, dressed in black, with white gloves on their hands, crape round their arms, and a leaf of evergreen in their breasts. When arrived at the place of interment they formed in two parallel lines, the body with the mourners and the long train of citizens who walked in rear, passing between them to the grave. Before the burial service was concluded by the officiating clergyman, they again took up the order of procession, passing round the grave, each member dropping into it his leaf of evergreen, as a last mark of respect to the memory of their departed brother. While looking on, we thought that this token of brotherly sympathy was at least one sweet drop in the bitter cup which the surviving relatives had been called upon to drink. Circumstances such as those which called it forth, may we never again witness in Quebec.

The remains of Lieut. Hamilton of the 14th were interred with military honours.

The blocking up of the theatre door was owing to the giving away of the stair case, leading to the

boxes, under the weight of the crowd seeking an outlet ; such was the pressure on the door, that no effort could force it in. (It is since this dire calamity that, by law, all theatre and church doors are made to open outwardly.) Those on the top of the living mass, by the falling in of the stairs became so firmly wedged in, that though in many cases, their arms were free, they found it impossible to extricate their feet. Some friends entering through the windows, attempted by main force to remove Mr. A. Stewart Scott, and used such efforts as to wrench his shoulder out of joint, when anguish rang from the doomed man the exclamation "Leave me to my fate, Good by—Good by."

The circumstances attending the death of young Lieut. Hamilton and his affianced bride, Miss Julia Rae (aged 16) were particularly harrowing. His affianced bride having insisted that he should save her elder sister first, he left accordingly with the eldest Miss Rae and then hastened back through the window and returned to partake of the fate of one, who never was to be his wedded wife. Loving eyes soon identified the charred remains of both. The writer can yet recall as one of the closing scenes of this melancholy drama, noticing the athletic form of young Arthur Lane, overturned, in a half recumbent position, with both feet firmly wedged in the mass of writhing humanity under it. Mr. Lane appeared to struggle hard ; soon the surrounding flames hid him from sight. This was near twelve at midnight.

For some days subsequently, there was around the smoking ruins, a nauseating odor of burnt flesh.

With the exception of the harrowing sights at the coroner's inquest on the two hundred victims

by the burning of the steamer *Montreal*, in June, 1857, there never was a more sickening spectacle witnessed in the good old city.

The Exodus of the famine-stricken Emigrants, from Ireland in 1847, whilst it materially added to our Census, swelled also in a fearful degree the death Roll of the Quarantine Station, at Grosse-Isle. Thousands of gaunt unfortunates that spring, had crowded in sailing ships, bent on seeking on Canadian soil, new homes. During the passage out, which, in many cases, lasted from ten to twelve weeks, typhus, dysentery and ship fever set in. Numerous convalescents, escaped from the Grosse-Isle hospitals, landed here to die. The summer of 1847, as connected with unprecedented heavy failures, amongst our shipping and lumber houses, together with the dreary scenes, at and round Grosse-Isle, marks an epoch in our annals. It is satisfactory, to be able to connect with this dismal picture of human suffering, many acts of christian devotion, in the clergy and laity; they spring up like green spots in a bleak desert to cheer this vale of sorrow.

The number of Irish orphans was very large. Many were adopted by charitable folks in the city; —a large proportion were taken and brought up by the French Canadian peasantry. The deadly atmosphere of the hospital ward, had no terrors for the pastor; typhus failed to exclude him from the death chamber of the expiring Emigrant.¹

¹ There was but a very small proportion of Protestants amongst them. Revd. M. Chaderton and Revd. M. Simpson, clergymen of the Church of England, sealed their devotion with their lives. The great bulk of Emigrants were Roman Catholics; the priests of that faith, furnished an ample, a glorious record of martyrs of duty. Revd. Messires P.

Journalism in 1848, made a serious loss in the death of the Nestor of the Canadian Press, the Hon. John Neilson : the Bench, also, mourned over one of the brightest of its luminaries, by the demise of the Hon. Rémi Vallières de St. Real, whose eloquence more than once, had electrified Quebec audiences.

In 1852, a project long agitated was helped on by the Hincks-Morin Ministry : the establishment of a line of Ocean Steamers, between England and Quebec. A subsidy of £19,000 sterling was in the first instance granted for the English Mail service. McLean, McLarty & Lamont, of Liverpool having obtained the subsidy, in the spring of 1853, placed the *Cleopatra*, the *Genova*, the *Lady Eglinton* and the *Sarah Sands* on this route : ¹ their contract having expired in

Roy, Montminy, Robson, Paisley, Bardy, Hudon, Ant. Roy, J. Richard, P. Richard, René Caron, P. Morgan, F. Colgang, McInervey died. Other victims survived : Mgrs. Prince, Horan, Taschereau ; Revd. Mr. McGauran, Auclair, Beaubien.

One well remembered City Magistrate, the late Robert Symes, performed at Grosse-Isle gratuitously offices to the dead which gold failed to procure ; his memory ought to be forever lovingly remembered, amongst his fellow men.

¹ The working of the line was soon afterwards transferred to the Canadian Steam Navigation Company, chartered on the 23rd May 1853, —McLean & Co., being the active and managing partners, Messrs. Thomas Ryan, Luther H. Holton and J. B. Greenshields, of Montreal, being the Canadian partners ; they were authorised to raise £250,000 sterling, (with power to increase.) The subsidy granted £24,000 was as follows : £19,000 sterling, per annum, for carrying a fortnightly mail between Montreal and Liverpool ; the *St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railway*, supplementing the amount by £4,000 sterling, and the City of Portland by £1,000 on consideration of the steamers running to Portland during the winter month.

Under the auspices of this company, the service was kept up by the *Cleopatra*, of 1467 tons, the *Ottawa*, of 1240 tons, and the *Charity*, of 1249 tons, besides other steamships of large capacity and power, and these continued to run throughout that and the following year. During this time, some irregularities in the service took place, arising in a

1854. Government granted to Sir Hugh Allan a subsidy of £24,000 which was increased to £52,000 currency and then reached £104,000 for a weekly mail. It was, in 1873, reduced to £26,000 stg.

The Grand Trunk Railway, here dates back to 1853.

Quebec has had her ample share of visitations by fires—floods—land slides—earthquakes—explosions, &c. None more startling, more sorrowful in its results than the loss by fire of the steamer *Montreal*, Capt. John C. Rudolf, at Cape Rouge, on the evening of the 26th June, 1857. This splendid vessel had left her wharf as usual at 4 p. m., for Montreal, with a crowd of passengers, composed as follows : 330 Scotch emigrants, just landed from the *John McKenzie*, John William Blenerhassett, master,

great measure from the difficulties of the navigation ; from inexperience in the best mode of contending with these difficulties, and also from a want of due preparation on this side of the Atlantic for successfully carrying on, so important an undertaking.

This contract was terminated after it had been carried on, for fully eighteen months, in the course of which several of the most rapid voyages then on record, had been made. The termination of the contract in reality was brought about, however, by the fact that in the autumn 1854, the Crimean war broke out, the vessels of the company were withdrawn from the Canadian service, being required for transport purposes by the British Government ; the Canadian Government paying the company the full sum agreed on per voyage, amounting to £27,000 sterling in all.

The first steamship of Allan Line, under contract with government for mails, left Liverpool for Quebec, in 1856 ; this contract was for a fortnightly service during summer, and a monthly one to Portland, in winter. Under the provisions of this contract, the Allan Line continued to run their mail steamers till the month of April 1859, when a new arrangement was entered in for a weekly service throughout the year, which arrangement is still in force.

from the Clyde, 30 German emigrants, 50 raftsmen shipped by Mr. Vancamp, for Dunn, Calvin & Co., and about 30 cabin passengers and the crew. About 5 p. m., the steamer was discovered to be on fire near the boiler, and all efforts to subdue it proving ineffectual, she was run ashore, between St. Augustin and Cap Rouge, in about 6½ feet of water at low tide, two acres from the beach.

The flames having spread with inconceivable rapidity, a panic ensued and the passengers took to jumping over board, in order to swim ashore; when, the terrified crowd struggling and holding on to one another, sank helplessly to the bottom. The steamer *Napoleon*, Capt Côté, also on its daily trip to Montreal, being a little ahead, hastened back and succeeded in rescuing from the burning vessel and from the river, 10 cabin and 109 steerage passengers. Capt. Rudolf and the purser, John Wilson, jr., saved themselves by swimming to the steamer *Alliance*, which happened to pass with some rafts in tow. Out of 400 souls, more than 200 perished.¹

A full detail of the disaster is recorded in the *Morning Chronicle*, of 30th June 1857.

The Scotch emigrants from the *John McKenzie* were all laid in one grave, in Mount Hermon

¹ Amongst the victims were Mr. James McLaren, of Quebec, jailor, a much respected citizen; Stephen Clarendon Phillips, of Salem, Mass., superintendent of the St. Maurice Lumber Company; a member of the enterprising Three-Rivers lumber firm, Norcross and Phillips; A. Denis Ledyard, Esq., of Cazevonie, Madison, C. N. Y.; Dr. Robb, of Scotland; the widow of the late Dr. Blanchette; Joseph Plamondon; Cleophas Bourgette; Alfred Noreau; Jules Bigaouette and some 200 emigrants. The greater number of the bodies were buried at Quebec, in Mount Hermon Cemetery.

Cemetery—Rev. Dr. Cook officiating, in presence of the St. Andrews Societies of Quebec and Montreal, numerous represented.¹

"On the persons of many of the victims were found sums of money; one woman examined, but not identified, had £55 in gold in her pocket. The passengers by the *John McKenzie*, were mostly all in good circumstances, and it is said, drew as much as £10,000 out of the Banks on their arrival. There was a report that the deceased had been plundered since taken out of the water; this, however, seems scarcely credible and was not proven."

The summer of 1860, saw our Gracious Queen's eldest son, Albert Edward, landing on our shores from the *Ariadne* frigate; and in 1861, the leviathan of modern times, the *Great Eastern's* huge hull was safely swinging each tide opposite to our wharves.

Our ancient and quiet going city witnessed on the 9th October 1863, the rare spectacle of a public festival, the inauguration of the Ste. Foye Monument. It was destined to commemorate the spot, where the deadliest portion of the struggle between General Murray and Levis took place on the 28th

1 " Oh why left I my bame,
Why did I cross the deep ?
Oh why left I the land.
Where my fore fathers sleep.
I sigh for Scotia's shore,
And I gaze across the sea ;
But I cannot get a blink,
O' my ain ain countrie."

A copy of this song was found by the Coroner in the pocket of Wm. Downie, of Aberdeen, blacksmith, aged 33, one of the victims.
(*Morning Chronicle*, 1st July, 1857.)

April, 1760 ; the engagement having lasted one hour and three quarters and resulting in some four or five thousand killed and wounded. The particulars of the Battle of Ste. Foye, having been related at page 187 of this work, it is unnecessary to repeat them here ; we shall allow, our leading city journal however to describe the spot selected for this stately column.

“ The site of the monument is beautiful in the extreme. You reach it from the Ste. Foye toll-gate after five or six minutes' walk through an avenue bordered on either side by handsome villas, and fine gardens, and half shaded by over-arching trees. It stands on an open field on the brow of the cliff overhanging the valley of the St. Charles. As you turn towards the monumental pillar, you have before you, the valley of the St. Charles, along which the populous suburbs of St. Roch and St. Sauveur are gradually wending their way. Beyond the limit of the level ground, the hills rise up terrace-like, bright, even in the late autumn with the verdure of gardens, and rendered still more attractive by the endless succession of villas, farm-houses and villages which dot the rising ground at intervals until they are lost in the distance, far away in the rear, behind Lorette, Charlesbourg and Beauport, where the blue summits of the Laurentian range rise to the skies. On the left, at one end of the valley, the prospect is rendered still more grand by the mountain heights and thickly-wooded skirts of the valley, bright with the orange, crimson, and russet hues of autumn. Along the whole landscape you can trace the winding of the St. Charles, from the foot of the mountains on the one side until it mingles with the broad

St. Lawrence on the other. It contains every variety of physical feature which can add to beauty of landscape; and viewed as it was under the balmy, warm sun of the Indian summer, it was beautiful exceedingly. It is needless to say that the attraction was heightened by the moving crowd, the bright uniforms, the glistening arms, and waving banners of the thousands who thronged the field of Ste. Foye during the sunny afternoon."

The structure, decidedly the finest public monument in Quebec, is erected in an open field. It consists of a column, of bronzed metal standing on a stone base and surmounted by a bronze statue of Bellona. The face of the pedestal fronting Ste. Foye road has the simple inscription, surrounded by a laurel wreath: "*Aux braves de 1760, érigé par la Société St. Jean-Baptiste de Québec, 1860.*" On the face looking towards the city is the name "Murray," on an oval shield surmounted by the arms of Great Britain and Ireland and supported by british insignia. On the other side, is the shield bearing the name "*Lévis*," surmounted by the arms of France under the Bourbons, the crown and lilies, with appropriate supporters at each side. In rear, looking towards the valley of the St. Charles, there is a representation of a wind-mill in *bas relief* in allusion to the wind-mill which was an object of alternate attack and defence to both armies on the occasion of the battle. This portion of the pedestal also bears the national arms of Canada. Four bronze mortars are placed on the corners of the pedestal. The height of this monument is about ninety feet.

As indicated by the inscription above mentioned,

this monument was erected by the *Société St. Jean-Baptiste de Québec*, with the subscriptions of the society and of other persons. The idea was conceived many years ago, but for a long time the plough of the farmer and the shovel of the workman, as he laboured at the foundation of new buildings along the St. Foye road, turned up human remains evidently the relics of those who were slain. In 1853-54, an unusual number of those bleached fragments of humanity were found, and the St. Jean-Baptiste society conceived the idea of having them all interred in one spot. They were accordingly collected and, on the 5th June 1854, carried with great pomp to the roman catholic cathedral, where a solemn *Requiem* was sung. The remains were thence conveyed in the same state to the field on St. Foye road, where the death struggle had taken place between the 78th Highlanders and the french *Grenadiers de la Reine*, where they were deposited in a common grave.

The project of an appropriate monument was started about the same time and appeared to meet with general approval. Arrangements had progressed to such an extent that it was intended to lay the corner stone of the monument on the 24th June 1855, but it was thought desirable to postpone, until the 19th July following, when the presence, in the harbour of the french imperial corvette, *La Capricieuse*, added new solemnity to the occasion. The Honorable P. J. O. Chauveau was the orator of the day. His speech was a brilliant effort, worthy of his reputation as a public speaker, couched in eloquent language, governed throughout by sound judgment and good taste.

During the following years, the St. Jean-Baptiste society labored earnestly and unceasingly for the purpose of collecting subscriptions to complete the monument. Success was attained, and in four or five years the base was crowned by the lofty pillar which now rises its fine proportions on the historic heights of St. Foye. Baron Gauldrée Boileau, then consul general of France in Canada, obtained from His Highness Prince Napoléon, the beautiful statue of Bellona which forms an appropriate ornament on the summit of the monument, and which was inaugurated with great pomp, in presence of at least 25,000 spectators, on the 10th October 1863.

The design of this monument was made by Mr. C. Baillargé, of Quebec. It commemorates the valour displayed by the French and English troops, on the very spot where it stands, at the battle of Ste. Foye, when Levis, in the spring following the capture of Quebec by Wolfe, attempted to reconquer the city and defeated the troops of General Murray, although he could not force the english general to capitulate, nor take possession of the city. This battle took place on the 28th April 1760.

A commotion like that of an earthquath shook the city in the spring of 1864—the Military Laboratory, near St. John's Gate, blew up, killing eight persons.

The 10th October 1864, will be a memorable date in the annals of Quebec. In the historic halls of our Parliament House, on Mountain hill, there sat for sixteen days, with closed doors, the Conference of the Canadian Government, with the delegates of the Maritime Provinces, under the sanction of the Queen and at the special invitation of her Vice-Roy and representative on our soil, Lord Monck, the Governor

General. It was composed of thirty-three¹ members, and was presided over by the *Premier* of Canada, Sir Etienne P. Taché, one of the Aide-de-Camp to Her Majesty. Never before or since, had the city witnessed such an imposing Grand Council. All British America had her eyes on the august assembly from whose calm and thoughtful deliberations, a new nationality was to spring forth,—a Confederation, combining the hoary wisdom of *Magna Charta*, with the enlarged freedom of every dweller on American soil.

Closely indeed was this famous national Conference watched by the Canadian—the American—the English Press, but the members having found that their private debates, if published, might lead to misunderstandings and complications wisely decided to proceed with closed doors : this left them much more freedom. One of the leading London Journals was represented by the brilliant and genial George Augustus Sala ; every Quebec *littérateur* longed for an introduction, to one of the literary lions of London Society—then in the zenith of his fame.

In the year of grace 1866, there was trouble in the Irish Republic founded in New-York about

¹ It was composed as followed : For Canada—Sir Etienne P. Taché, chairman—(Sir) John A. McDonald, Cartier, Brown, Galt, A. Campbell, Chapais, McGee, Langevin, Mowat, McDougall and Cockburn. (12.)

Nova Scotia : Messrs. Tupper, Henry, McCully, Archibald and Dickey. (5.)

New Brunswick : Messrs. Tulley, Mitchell, Fisher, Steve, Gray, Chandler and Johnson. (7.)

Prince Edward's Island : Messrs. Coles, Haviland, Palmer, Col. Grey, MacDonald, Whalen and Pope. (7.)

New-Foundland : Messrs. Shea and Carter. (2.)

1857, by that eminent patriot, Col. O'Mahony. A split had taken place in the commonwealth; one wing headed by General Sweeney and Col. Roberts—separated from Col. O'Mahony and formed a new,—a purer republic. Their reasons for seceding were that that they were not quite satisfied, as to the state of the finances of the Republic, and objected to O'Mahony's mode of freeing Ireland. The Col. vowed the shortest way to reclaim old Erin from English barbarism was to send men and "american money" direct to Ireland. The new republic founded by Roberts and Sweeney, on the contrary professed to believe the true road to Irish independence lay through Canada; they therefore sent men to Canada but the "american money" does not appear to have been sent—if it was, it never reached.

Altogether, so far as honest *Jean-Baptiste* was concerned, it would have been possibly a pretty quarrel, to witness, had he not had a fair chance in the *mêlée* of being piked, bayoneted or shot. Totally unconscious of having ever merited the ill-will of either wing of the Irish Republic, *Jean-Baptiste* prepared to rout the murderous crew; nay, it was well known how, on a memorable occasion when ship fever was decimating the unfortunate Emigrants at Quebec, hundreds of Irish children, had found lost fathers and mothers in canadian homes, and are there to this day.

Quebec much less than other of the western city experienced the Fenian scare: it felt it nevertheless; the City Volunteers had a grand opportunity of airing their uniforms.

On Sunday, the 14th October 1866, at half-past

four o'clock in the morning, flames were seen issuing from a *Shebeen*, in St. Joseph street, St. Roch suburbs, kept by one Trudel. At half-past five in the afternoon of that day, there being a high wind, of the universal wooden-houses of St. Roch and the adjoining parish of St. Sauveur, there were 2,500, in ruins : the house of pleasure and its wassailers had become a mass of charred ruins and desolation. There never was more wide spread mourning, not even after the fearful conflagrations of 1845. As usual, in the days when the British troops garrisoned Quebec, an appeal went up to their commanding officer, then Lord Alexander Russell, of the Rifle Brigade; to the artillery commanded by Col. McCrae; to the 25th Regt. then stationed at Levis; to the Engineers; to the honest tars of the *Aurora* frigate, then in port and who wintered here. The appeal was not in vain; men and powder was bountifully furnished and under the superintendence of the military, whole rows of wooden tenements were blown to atoms, to stop the flames. It was a heart-rending sight to see the unfortunate inhabitants, their trembling wives, scared children and tender infants, huddled at every street corner, watching with dismay and despair the disappearance by fire of all their wordly possessions. The Government, civic authorities and individuals, nobly responded to the cries of distress of the victims; the Drill shed, the Skating Ring, Public Halls, in fact every available shelter was tendered and thankfully accepted. Relief committee organized and funds subscribed in Canada, in England, in France, for this unparalleled calamity. The fire gave rise to many instances of self

sacrifice. A promising young English officer, Lieut. Baines, R. A., heroically lost his life, in his successful attempts to save the General Hospital Convent; his last hours, were soothed by the unremitting attentions of his grateful attendants, the Religious ladies of the General Hospital. Lieutenant Arch. Douglas, of the *Aurora* frigate, with noble devotion, nearly fell a victim also; he was seriously hurt in his ardour to save life and property. Sergeant Henry Hughes, R. A., was badly wounded and had to leave the service: Honble. C. Dunkin, the year following, provided for this brave man, by an appointment of trust, which he fills to this day. Such are a few of the particulars of the great St. Roch Fire of 1866.

The usual loud, earnest speeches, were uttered in the town council, after this appalling disaster. Much surprise was evinced, that two thousand small dry wooden tenements should be consumed in a few hours, when a high wind fanned the flames on a sunny day. Much virtuous resolves were made, to cure the evil and prevent the recurrence of these vast conflagrations. Resolutions were passed to prohibit building in wood. By-laws were drafted; they read well on paper—and should a similar scourge again sweep over the new wood-built district, enquiry will doubtless then be made with emphasis too, why the By-law was not carried out?

CHAPTER X.

1867—1876.

RESTORED HONORS.

SIR N. F. BELLEAU, 1ST LT.-GOVERNOR, 1867.—THE HISTORIAN GARNEAU.
— DEPARTURE OF THE BRITISH LEGIONS, 1871.— EARL OF DUFFERIN, 25th JUNE, 1872.— GENEROUS HOSPITALITIES EXTENDED BY LORD AND LADY DUFFERIN TO QUEBECERS, ON THE CITADEL, 1873.
— HON. R. E. CARON, 2ND LT.-GOVERNOR, 1873.— SECOND CENTENARY OF ERECTION OF BISHOPRIC AT QUEBEC, 1ST OCTOBER, 1674.
— CENTENARY OF THE REPULSE OF MONTGOMERY AND ARNOLD, 31st DECEMBER, 1775.— CITY IMPROVEMENTS SUGGESTED BY HIS EXCELLENCY, THE EARL OF DUFFERIN.

On the 1st July 1867, Confederation with its inscrutable future was inaugurated here. Quebec had been selected as the capital of Canada East, to which Province was restored the name, it held under the constitution of 1791; it again became the Province of Quebec. Parliament re-assembled as of old. Departments of State and a Public service were organised with officials of every degree, and the city left to shape its destinies, under the new constitution. What remained of the old chateau, since the fire in 1834, was considered too limited for the accommodation of the new Lieutenant Governor.

Spencer Wood, lately tenanted by Lord Monck, opened its portals, this time to a French Canadian Governor, Sir N. F. Belleau; though Vaudreuil, in 1759, had been considered as closing for ever the long list of Governors speaking the French language.

One of the first incidents, after confederation, of interest for the city, was the consecration of the tomb and removal thereto, of the body of the Historian Garneau. The mausoleum, a solid structure, was an offering from the many and warm admirers of the disinterested patriot. On Sunday, the 15th September, 1867, took place the translation of the remains of the late Mr. Garneau. From the private vault, in the Belmont Cemetery, Ste. Foye, near Quebec, where they had been deposited the previous winter, they were taken to the then recently finished tomb provided by public subscription, in conformity with the public notice given by the writer of these lines, acting ¹ President of the Committee. The concourse of persons present must have exceeded 3,000, amongst whom were many leading citizens, Judges, Barristers, and others. The burial service was chaunted by the Rev. Messire Auclair, *Curé* of Quebec, and the ceremony was inaugurated under the auspices of Sir N. F. Belleau, Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, who was present with his staff and with several members of his Cabinet. The religious portion of the ceremony being over, the Premier, the Honorable P. J. O. Chauveau, standing uncovered at the head of the tomb, gave utterance in French

¹ The President Sir N. F. Belleau, having been appointed Lt. Governor of the Province, the writer was elected President in his stead.

to an eloquent oration, on the career of his old and trusted friend, the gifted historian of Canada. Everything seemed favorable to the fulfilment of the peculiar duty devolving on the honorable speaker. The beauty of the surrounding woods, lit up with the bright hues of September; the pensive stillness of the Sabbath, amidst the many quiet tombs; the historical memories clustered round this old battle-field of 1760, so graphically described in the works of both Mr. Garneau and Mr. Chauveau, and on which now stands the new cemetery of Belmont; the sweet, though mournful office, of a man of letters delegated by his countrymen to honour, in a departed friend, another man of letters—a good citizen—a true patriot: every object combined to prepare the heart for soft emotions.

In 1871, the English troops of whom from time immemorial, two regiments with detachments of Engineers and Artillery, had garrisoned our fortress, departed from our shores. The Gibraltar of Canada was left in charge of our Dominion force. To the city, the change was unwelcome for more reasons than one. Over and above the loss of prestige,—fashionable circles, wealth and refinement as well as trade and commerce were the losers. It was calculated that £100,000¹ were thus annually withdrawn from the circulating medium. Though Quebec had been pronounced a species of *sanitorium*, for that portion of the British army, stationed here; though, it was

¹ The annual pay of an English regiment of the line is equal to £40,000. There were two regiments, with several companies of Engineers, Artillery, Miners, a Commissariat Staff. The 3,000 consumers of bread, beef, &c., may be safely said to represent each year an expenditure of \$400,000.

proved that the maintenance of the troops, our garrison, did not cost more than those at head-quarters, some utilitarian statesmen of England,—at least those of the day,—seemed to consider that English rule and its freedom, the aroma of her victories, would endure on the old rock, like the scent of rose leaves, in the vase even after removal of the contents.

For the country at large, in the withdrawal of our Imperial defenders, there may have been a sound and useful lesson of self-reliance. Time will tell.

The summer of 1872, was cheered by the arrival of the newly appointed Governor General, the Earl of Dufferin; his youthful Countess and children safely landed in our midst, on the 25th June, 1872. The fame of this munificent and accomplished nobleman had preceded him to our shores. In addition to the advantages of rank, talent and wealth, a halo of literary renown encircled his brow. This was the first literary man appointed Governor in the colony since Count de la Gallissonniere, in 1747. Every class, and foremost Quebec *littérateurs*, eagerly flocked round his standard, to greet him with their warmest welcome. Quebec has found in him a warm friend.

On the 30th September 1874, at the invitation of the archbishop of Quebec, the R. C. Bishops, prelates and priests, crowded in the city from every diocese in the Dominion and in the adjoining Republic, to celebrate the second centennial of the foundation of the Bishopric by the illustrious Laval, on the 1st October 1674. Nine triumphal arches in Latin, Byzantine Romanesque, Classic and Gothic architecture, were erected over the streets in the upper-town, and dedicated to the Metropolitan dioceses of North America. An imposing procession passed under

them and into the Cathedral, which was endowed on that day with the name and privileges of a Basilica Minor; that evening, the city was illuminated at vast cost. The names of the men of note, discoverers, warriors, churchmen, statesmen and writers—which adorn the Annals of the old capital, were affixed to the old Jesuit's College, the Seminary, the University and other public buildings: the effect of the chinese lamps, candles &c., on these trophies at night, was indiscreably beautiful; with the fire-works, they presented the grandest spectacle ever witnessed in Quebec. In the pageant, was borne the venerable and tattered flag of Carillon, which had floated over Montcalm, when he defeated General Abercrombie, on Lake Champlain, (July 8, 1758) discovered about a century after in the dwelling at Quebec, of *Frère Louis*, the last of the Franciscan Friars.

"The small grain of mustard-seed," says Professor Larue, "cast in the lower-town, at Quebec, in 1615, by the three Recollets Fathers, Dolbeau, LeCaron, and Jamay, watered by the blood of so many martyrs, and cultured with so much love by François de Laval, and his worthy successors, has grown like that of the Gospel, a great tree with wide spreading branches, under the shadow of which the birds of Heaven, in vast numbers, have come for refuge."¹

¹ The diocese of Quebec erected on the 1st Oct., 1674,—had been (in 1874) subdivided into 61 dioceses, forming eight ecclesiastical provinces, to wit:

Montreal	1836	Little Rock	1843
Ottawa	1847	Galveston.....	1847
Saint-Hyacinthe	1852	Natchitoches	1853
Three-Rivers	1852	St. Louis.....	1826
Saint-Germain of Rimouski. 1867		Dubuque.....	1837

Our pleasant task is drawing to an end: an incident of December, 1875, must claim a few lines ere we close: the centenary of the repulse of Montgomery, at Près-de-Ville; and of Arnold, at Sault-au-Matelolet street, on 31st December 1775. This feat was equally creditable to both races which inhabit the city.

Quebec is rich in literary institutions; the two oldest—the *Literary and Historical Society*, which dates back to 1824, and the *Institut Canadien*, founded in 1848,¹ took the lead and determined to comme-

Sherbrooke.....	1874	Nashville.....	1837
Halifax.....	1845	Chicago.....	1844
Saint-Johns, Newfoundland.	1769	Milwaukie.....	1844
Charlottetown.....	1820	Santa-Fe.....	1850
Saint-John N. B.....	1842	St. Paul.....	1850
Arichat.....	1844	Alton.....	1857
Chatham.....	1860	Kansas.....	1851
Le Havre de Grâce.....	1860	Nebraska.....	1851
Toronto.....	1842	St. Joseph.....	1868
Kingston.....	1826	Green Bay.....	1868
Hamilton.....	1856	La Crosse.....	1868
London.....	1856	Colorado.....	1868
Sault Ste. Marie.....	1874	Cincinnati.....	1833
St. Boniface.....	1847	Louisville.....	1808
St. Albert.....	1867	Detroit.....	1832
Rivière McKenzie.....	1863	Vincennes.....	1834
Oregon City.....	1846	Cleveland.....	1847
Nesqually.....	1850	Covington.....	1853
Victoria.....	1844	Fort Wayne.....	1857
British Columbia.....	1864	Marquette.....	1857
Idaho.....	1865	Columbus.....	1868
Pittsburgh.....	1843	Buffalo.....	1847
Erie.....	1853	Burlington.....	1853
New-Orleans.....	1793	Rochester.....	1868
Mobile.....	1824	Ogdensburg.....	1872
Natchez.....	1837		

¹ The names of the originators are: (Hon.) Aurèle Plamondon, J. B. A. Chartier, L. J. C. Fiset, T. Ledroit, M. Hudon, Frederick Braun, J. M. LeMoine, L. A. Huot, Jos. Hamel, A. Soulard, O. Crémazie. The first meeting was attended by thirteen.

morate in their rooms, by speeches and addresses, this glorious anniversary.

In both Societies, the preparations were on the grandest scale. Three prominent members of the *Institut*, with the President, Mr. J. F. Belleau, read addresses,—the first, the introductory one, was an elegant paper by the secretary, Mr. J. J. B. Chouinard. Mr. H. E. Taschereau, M. P., pronounced a most stirring oration, and Mr. L. P. Turcotte, favorably known by his historical works, recapitulated in a very elaborate and complete essay, the origin, causes, and results of the American invasion of our soil.¹

Of the addresses pronounced at the centennial *soirée* of the *Literary and Historical Society*, delivered by the chairman, Jas. Stevenson, esquire, Colonel T. Bland Strange and the writer, copious extracts have been given in another portion of this volume, page 195.

A leading City journal thus described the *Soirée* :

“THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY’S CENTENARY FETE — It would be hardly possible to imagine a more graceful or unique gathering than that which assembled in the rooms of the *Literary and Historical Society* last evening, for the purpose of celebrating with all possible *éclat* that gloriously memorable event, the repulse of the troops commanded by General Richard Montgomery, of the American Army, whilom officer of the 17th Regiment of Infantry in the service of his Britannic Majesty George III, who, on the blustering wintery morning of the 31st December, 1775, attempted an assault upon the redoubts and fortifications which at that time did the duty of our present Citadel, and whose intrepidity was rewarded with a soldier’s death, and his want of success formed the nucleus of the power which is so firmly established in this Royal Canada of ours, to day.

“The arrangements made by the Society for the reception of their

¹ The *Institut Canadien*, as well as the *Literary and Historical Society*, published each in a separate volume, these essays, speeches and addresses.

unusually numerous guests, and the decorations of the various apartments, were all that could be wished—commodious and tasteful. In the entrance hall the royal standard floated, and there the B. Battery Band was placed. Turning up the left hand flight of steps the visitor—passing the large class room of Morrin College, transformed for the nonce, into spacious refreshment buffets—was ushered into the lecture room, from the galleries of which flags of many nations and many colors were drooping. The raised dais, occupied during the delivery of the addresses by James Stevenson, Esq., Senior Vice-President, *Lit. & Hist. Society*, in the chair; Lieut.-Col. T. Bland Strange, R. S. M. Bouchette, Esq., Dr. W. Boswell, Vice-Presidents, J. M. LeMoine, Esq., and Commander Ashe, R. N., ex-Presidents, was flanked on either side with the blue and silver banners of St. Andrew's Society, bearing the arms and escutcheon of Scotia, and their proud motto "*Nemo me impune lascessit.*" Bunting and fresh spruce foliage gave an air of freshness to all the adorable parts of the room. Immediately opposite the lectern, which was illuminated with wax candles, placed in last century candlesticks, and attached to the gallery railings, was a fine collection of Lochaber axes, clustered around a genuine wooden Gaelic shield studded with polished knobs of glittering brass. Long before the hour of eight, the company had increased to such an extent that the room was crowded to the doors, but not inconveniently, as the ventilation was unexceptionable. With accustomed punctuality, Jas. Stevenson, Esq., acting in the absence of the President, (Prof. Jas. Douglas) opened the meeting with some highly appropriate remarks relative to the historical value of the subjects about to be discussed and summarising very succinctly the events immediately previous to the beleaguering of the fortress city. He alluded in stirring terms to the devotion which had been manifested by the British and French defenders, who resolved rather to be buried in the ruins than surrender the city. He stated that he thought it especially meet and proper that the *Literary and Historical Society* here should have taken up the matter and dealt with it, in this way. He alluded in eulogistic terms to the capability of the gentlemen about to address them, and, after regretting the unavoidable absence of Lt.-Col. Coffin, a lineal descendant of an officer very conspicuous by his gallantry in 1775, and who had been invited to address the meeting, but was prevented by illness from attending, formally introduced the first speaker, Lieutenant-Colonel Strange, commandant of Quebec Garrison, and Dominion Inspector of Artillery. This gallant officer, who on rising, was received with loud and hearty cheering by the audience, with characteristic military brevity, plunged *in medias res*, simply remarking, at the onset, that

he, in such a position, was but a rear rank man, while Colonel Coffin would have been a front ranker; but his soldierly duty was to fill that position in the absence of him to whom the task would have been officially assigned. The subject which formed a distinct section of the major topic of the evening was then taken up. In as much as it is our intention, and we believe that of the Society, to reproduce faithfully in pamphlet form the graphic, interesting and detailed word-pictures of the ever memorable events of the 31st December 1775, as given by the learned gentlemen who addressed the meeting, it suffices to say in the present brief notice of the proceedings that Colonel Strange exhaustively treated that portion which referred to the attack and defence at Près-de-Ville—the place in the vicinity of which now stands the extensive wharves of the Allan Company. Many incidents of the siege, utterly unknown to ordinary readers of history were recalled last night, and many things that have hitherto been dubious, or apparently unaccountable explained away. The story of the finding of the snow-covered and hard frozen corpse of the unfortunate General and his Aide-de-Camp, was told with much pathos, as were details of his burial. The references to descendants of then existing families still residents in Quebec, were extremely interesting, because many were among the audience. At the conclusion of Colonel Strange's admirable résumé, and some further pointed remarks from the Chairman, Mr. J. M. LeMoine, who is *par excellence* and *par assiduité*, our Quebec historian, whose life has been mainly devoted to the compilation of antiquarian data touching the history, the walls, the streets, the relics, the families, the very Flora and Fauna of our cherished Stadacona,—commenced his erudite and amusing sketches of the day, taken from the stand point of the enemy's head-quarters, and the fray in the Sault-au-matelot. Interspersing in his own well digested statement of events, he chose the best authenticated accounts from contemporaneous participants, British, French Canadian, and American, proving that the record as presented by Col. Strange and himself last night, was a "plain, unvarnished, truthful tale," a reliable mirror in which was faithfully reflected all that was historically interesting as affecting Quebec in the campaign of 1775-6. When Mr. LeMoine had terminated his address, which was of considerable length, Mr. Stevenson concluded the portion of the proceedings with a most eulogistic and deserved recognition of the devotion which the two gentlemen who had read during the evening had shewn in preparing their respective papers, and a vote of thanks to them was heartily and unanimously accorded. He also made reference to the topic of the day, the restoration and embellishment of our oft sieged city, gracefully at-

tributing honor where it was due, first and foremost to His Excellency the Governor General, Earl of Dufferin, at whose instigation the plans had been prepared, secondly, to His Worship the Mayor, Owen Murphy, Esq., who was present, for his untiring exertions and valuable assistance in developing, maturing and preparing the way for, and early completion of said designs which are to make Quebec a splendid architectural example of the deformed, transformed; thirdly, to the hearty co-operation of the public, aided in their views by the enterprise of the proprietor of the MORNING CHRONICLE, who had had prepared the splendid illustrations of these improvements, thereby reflecting infinite credit upon himself. After a few other remarks, the ladies and gentlemen were invited to inspect, and moved into, the library, which for the rest of the evening was the centre of attraction. The *coup d'œil*, when once one had fairly entered into this beautifully designed, permanent focus of intellectual wealth, around whose walls were ranged the imperishable memorials of nearly all of man's genius that has been thought worthy of preserving, was striking and memorable. As in the lecture room, those emblems, which are our symbolical as well as actual rallying points in all times of trouble or war, draped and covered the book shelves which contain the essence almost of all that human intelligence, human thought, human wit, man's invention and ingenuity has as yet brought to light. Here, historian and poet, geographer and engineer, humorist and preacher, dramatist and theologian, are congregated, serving in the one great cause of public instruction and the expansion of the limitless ramifications which exist in the ever growing tree of knowledge. The student and *littérateur*, the bibliophile and dilettante novel reader, the most frequent visitors, here last night were replaced by groups of fair women and patriotic men assembled to commemorate an event which had a marked effect upon the history of this continent in this nineteenth century, and which will expire a few hours after these lines meet the reader's eyes. In lieu of study and thought, the attention of the throng was attracted to the splendid stand of arms reaching from floor to ceiling, and which as it were defended the Dominion standard that fell in long festoons behind. In the centre of a diamond shaped figure made up of scores of sabres pointing inwards, was a large glittering star of silvery steel bayonets. In chronological order were pink and gilt tablets, containing each one the names of the Governor General of Canada, commencing with Guy Carleton in 1775, and proceeding through the noble list which includes Haldimand, Dorchester, Dalhousie, Gosford, Colborne, Durham, Sydenham, Bagot, Cathcart, Elgin, Head, Monk, Lisgar, down to the present glorious epoch when

this prosperous country is vice-regally and right royally presided over by Lord Dufferin, in the year of grace, 1875; on the opposite side of the room, under a similar spiky coronet of bristling steel, was hung the sword of the dead and vanquished, but honored and revered hero, the trusty blade which only left Montgomery's hands, when in his death throes, he "like a soldier fell," and the pitiless snow became his winding-sheet. On a table below this interesting and valuable historic relic, now in possession, as an heirloom, of J. Thompson Harrower, Esq., of this city, was exhibited with the full uniform of an artillery officer of the year 1775. Several quaint old sketches and painting were placed around the Library, which, with the Museum, was converted for the time into an extempore conversazione hall, and while the melodies of the "B" Battery band were wafted hither and thither through the building, the dames and cavaliers gossiped pleasantly over their tea or coffee and delicacies provided by the members for the guests, and declared, with much show of reason, that the *Literary and Historical Society's* centennial entertainment was a red-letter day in the annals of that learned and well-deserving body."

Arnold and Montgomery's attack have been described at page 193.

We shall however add the following extract from the Centenary addresses:

"From December (1st), 1775, to the 6th May, 1776, according to Sanguinet, the *Bostonnais* fired seven hundred and eighty cannon shots on the city; they threw one hundred and eighty small shells of 15, 18, 20, 25, 30 pounds, with the exception of five or six shells of 50 to 60 lbs.: their balls were mostly all of 9 lbs. weight. During the same interval, Quebec fired, including the shots to clean the guns, ten thousand four hundred and sixty-six shots—nine hundred and ninety-six shells—from 30, 40, 50 to 230 lbs. weight—others of 160, 175, 200 lbs., and some of 300 lbs. weight, and six fire-pots, which set fire to four houses in St. Roch suburbs.

"The blockade lasted from 4th December, 1775, to

6th May, 1776: the chief incidents in the interval, we find recorded in the Siege journals under the heading of: "Innumerable houses in St. Rocque and St. John Suburbs, burnt by Arnold's soldiery, to cut off the supply of fire-wood from the garrison." Frequent ball practice between the enemy's piquets in St. John Suburbs and at Menut's Tavern, and the garrison: occasional desertions from the ninety-five American prisoners who had enlisted, and some of the Royal Emigrants disappearing, to which may be added several false alarms. Where Prescott Gate was built in 1797, there existed, in 1775, a rough structure of pickets;—Hope Gate, erected and named by Col. Hope eleven years after, did not of course exist in 1775—this is why Capt. Laws and his party were sent by Palace Gate.

"Never was there a more utter rout than that of the heroes of Ticonderoga—Crown Point—Fort St. John—Fort Chambly—Montreal—Sorel—Three Rivers, &c. The Commander-in-Chief, Brigadier General Richard Montgomery, with his Aides-de-Camp, McPherson, Jacob Cheseman and some dozens of others, fell at Près-de-ville. Col. Arnold,¹ wounded in the leg, was conveyed from Sault-au-Matelot street by the Rev. Samuel Spring, the Chaplain of the force, and by Matthew Ogden (afterwards General M. Ogden), whilst Hendricks, and others of his chief officers, were shot, and his second in command,

¹ Arnold was thirty-four years of age at the storming of Quebec in 1775. He was called a double traitor; first to England, next to America,—having offered to surrender West Point to the English, for £33,000 and the retention of the rank he then held in the American army. He was born in Norwich, Conn., and died near Brompton London, 18th June, 1801, aged 50 years.

Lt.-Col. Green, the two Majors, Bigelow and Return J. Meigs, Adjutant Febezer and Cap. Matthew Duncan, and some four hundred and twenty-six officers and privates were taken prisoners.

“ In order to render more clear the mode of attack and defence, on Sault-au-Matelot Barriers, we have prepared the foregoing rough sketch, showing, as near as possible, the locality in 1775, and its present state. The eastern termination of *Little Sault-au-Matelot* street, or Dog Lane is less abrupt than formerly. Figure 5 denotes the site of Lymeburner's house, where our men were. * The wharf in rear, provided in 1775 with cannon, existed, so we are told, as late as 1823, and was occupied by the warehouses of the Hudson Bay Co.; the Inland Revenue office, in rear and other buildings in St. James street, have since taken the place of the St. Lawrence. From the title-deeds of property in our possession, there can be no doubt as to the site of Lymeburner's house, though we have failed to discover the site of the house, which Caldwell, in his narrative, calls “the house of Levy, the Jew.” Where, in 1775, was Lymeburner's ¹ house, now stands, since 1863, the stately structure known as the Quebec Bank.

¹ There were three Lymeburners: John, the proprietor of the St. Peter street house, who was lost at sea in the fall of 1775; Adam, his brother, who succeeded to him—the able delegate sent to England to oppose the New Constitution of 1791, dividing Canada into two Provinces. He died in England as late as 1836; and Matthew Lymeburner (Lymeburner & Crawford); he was yet alive in 1816. None, that we are aware of, left children in Quebec.

"I have my doubts, whether there really existed a "Third Barrier." However valuable the statements of Mr. Sanguinet, the Montreal advocate, may be, as bearing on the incidents which took place in the latter city during his residence there in the winter of 1775-6, having only reached our City on the 15th May, 1776, his testimony as to the incidents in Quebec of the preceding winter, is not like Caldwell's, that of an eye witness; they are merely secondary evidence.

"Tradition points out as the house, at the eastern end of *Little Sault-au-Matelot* street, in which Major Nairne and Lieut. Dambourgès entered, a small two-story tavern removed a few years back and replaced by No. 5 Fire Station. According to the narrative of Capt. Siméon Thayer, one of Arnold's officers, who formed part of the 426 prisoners taken, "the Continental troops of Arnold were, for upwards of four hours, victorious of the lower town, and had taken about 130 prisoners," when the fortune of war turned against them. His description of the capture of the First Barrier, guard and piquet, is worthy of notice:

"The front," says he, "having got lost by a prodigious snow-storm, I undertook to pilot them (Arnold's party), having measured the works before and knowing the place. But coming to the Barrier, two field pieces that were there played briskly on us. But on their drawing back to recharge, Capt. Morgan and myself, quickly advancing through the Ports, seized them with 60 men, rank and file, which was their main guard, and made them prisoners. Immediately afterwards, advancing towards a picket that lay further up the street, where there was a company of the most responsible citizens of Quebec, found their Captain drunk, took them likewise prisoners, and taking their dry arms for our own use, and laying ours up in order to dry them, being wet, and advancing, by which time our whole party got into the First Barrier. We rallied our men and strove to scale the second. Notwithstanding their utmost efforts, we got some of our ladders up, but were obliged to retreat, our arms being wet, and scarcely one in ten

" They fell into the clutches of Capt. Laws. It is clear, from Capt. Thayer's statement, that it was neither a British, nor a French militia officer who was captain of the piquet, past the First Barrier, " further up the street," where both the captain and piquet were taken prisoners—but Capt. McLeod, of the 84th, or Royal Emigrants. Of whom was the piquet composed? of the " most responsible citizens of Quebec." Their nationality is not here given. Did this piquet, commanded by a British Regular officer, constitute the guard of the " Second Barrier?" Probably not, else if it had, the piquet being made prisoners of war, what would have prevented Arnold's men from *scaling* the Second Barrier? and establishing themselves beyond. Notwithstanding all the minute details submitted, there is yet some margin for conjectures and hypotheses; each nationality will set up a theory as to who defended the Second Barrier, in the beginning of the fray, before Caldwell, the Commander of the British Militia, Nairne, Dambourgès and Dumas struck out for Death or Victory; though this is a minor point.

" In the Sketch may be seen the houses marked 4 . 4 . 4 . 4 in Dog Lane, from the back windows of which Morgan and Lamb's riflemen could hit our brave boys, sheltered in Lymeburner's house.

" Mr. Stevenson, the Chairman, closed the programme of the soiree, by some complimentary remarks to the speakers and some excellent observations on the subject that had been discussed. He

would fire; whereon some did retreat back to the First Barrier we had taken, and when we came there we found ~~we could not retreat without~~ exposing ourselves to the most imminent danger."

then, as follows, introduced the new plans of city improvements suggested by His Excellency, the Earl of Dufferin, and warmly patronised by the Mayor.

"Improvements" said he "are also in contemplation for the preservation of our historic monuments, and the embellishment of the city by using effectively the natural advantages of its sites—blending the work of nature with that of art, for purposes of utility and adornment. These improvements we hope to see soon begun and completed.

"We are indebted to our present distinguished Governor General of Canada for suggesting the improvements, and providing the plans, which if followed and realized, will render Quebec the most remarkable and probably the most interesting city on this continent. Let me add, that we are also indebted to our energetic and able Mayor, Owen Murphy, Esquire, for seconding the efforts of His Excellency; and to the Members of the Corporation and others for their cordial co-operation in furtherance of the great object in view.

"The original plans, admirably designed and executed by Mr. Lynn, the civil engineer employed by Lord Dufferin, had been deposited in the library, and were scrutinized closely by many ladies and gentlemen.

The company were then invited to view the sword of General Montgomery, suspended with crape, under a star of bayonets, in the Library of the Society.

"The celebration of the Centenary at the rooms of the *Literary and Historical Society* on the 29th, and at those of the *Institut Canadien, of Quebec*, on the

30th, was followed by a Ball at the Citadel, on the 31st, given by the Commandant, Colonel Strange, R. A., and Mrs. Strange, who entertained a large number of guests dressed in the costume of 1775, of which the following account is taken from the Centenary volume of the *Literary and Historical Society* :

“ One hundred years have passed away, and again soldiers and civilians in the costume of 1775 move about in the old fortress, some in the identical uniforms worn by their ancestors at the time of the memorable repulse.

“ The Commandant, in the uniform of his corps in 1775, and the ladies in the costume of the same period, received their guests as they entered the Ball-room—the approaches to which were tastefully decorated. Half way, between the dressing and receiving rooms, is a noble double staircase, the sides of which are draped with Royal standards intermingled with the white and golden lilies of France, our Dominion Ensign, and the stars and stripes of the neighbouring Republic. On either hand of the broad steps, are stands of arms and warlike implements. Here too, facing one, when ascending the steps, is the trophy designed by Captain Larue of the “B” Battery. The huge banners fell in graceful folds about the stacks of musketry piled on the right and left, above the drums and trumpets; from the centre was a red and black pennant (the American colors of 1775,) immediately underneath was the escutcheon of the United States, on which heavily craped, was hung the hero's sword—the weapon with which one hundred years before this night,

Montgomery had beckoned on his men. Underneath this kindly tribute to the memory of the dead General, were the solemn prayerful initials of the *Requiescat in Pace*. At the foot of the trophy, were two sets of old flint muskets and accoutrements, piled, and in the centre a brass cannon captured from the Americans in 1775, which bears the lone star and figure of an Indian—the arms of the State of Massachusetts. On either side of this historical tableau, recalling as it did, so vividly, the troublous times of long ago, telling the lesson so speakingly of the patience and pluck, the sturdy manhood and bravery of a century gone by, were stationed as sentries, two splendid specimens of the human race, stalwart giants considerably over six feet in height, who belonged formerly to the famous *Cent Gardes* of Napoleon III, but now in the ranks of B. Battery. The stern impassiveness of their faces and the immobility of their figures were quite in keeping with the solemn trust they had to guard.

“Dancing commenced: dance succeeded dance, and the happy hours flew past till the midnight hour, which would add another year to our earthly existence. About that time there were mysterious signs and evidences that something unusual was going to happen. There was a hurrying to and fro of the *cognoscenti* to their respective places, but so noiselessly and carefully were the preparations made for a *coup de théâtre*, that the gay throng who perpetually circulated through the rooms took little heed, when all of a sudden the clear clarion notes of a trumpet sounding, thrilled the hearts of all present. A panel in the wainscoating of the lower dancing

room opened as if by magic, and out jumped a jaunty little trumpeter, with the slashed and decorated jacket and busby of a hussar. The blast he blew rang in tingling echoes far and wide, and a second later, the weird piping and drumming, in a music now strange to us, was heard in a remote part of the Barracks. Nearer and nearer every moment came the sharp shrill notes of the fifes and the quick detonation of the drum stick taps. A silence grew over the bright *cortége*, the notes of the band died away, the company clustered in picturesque groups around the stairs where was placed the thin steel blade, whose hilt one century gone by, was warmed by the hand of Montgomery. The rattle of the drums came closer and closer, two folding doors opened suddenly, and through them stalked in grim solemnity the "Phantom Guard," led by the intrepid Sergeant Hugh McQuarters. Neither regarding the festive decorations, nor the bright faces around them, the guard passed through the assemblage as if they were not; on, through saloon and passage; past Ball room and Conversation parlour, they glided with measured step and halted in front of the Montgomery trophy, and paid military honors to the memento of a hero's valiant, if unsuccessful act. Upon their taking close order, the Bombardier, Mr. Dunn, who impersonated the dead Sergeant, and actually wore the sword blood-stained belts of a man who was killed in action in 1775, addressed Colonel Strange, who stood at the bottom of the staircase already mentioned.

We have thought it meet and proper to reproduce

the appropriate sentiments used on such an auspicious occasion :

" Commandant! we rise from our graves to-night, *
On the Centennial, of the glorious fight,
At midnight, just one hundred years ago,
We soldiers fought and beat the daring foe ;
And kept our dear old flag aloft, unfurled,
Against the armies of the Western world.
Although our bodies now should be decayed,
At this, our visit, be not sore dismayed ;
Glad are we to see our Fortress still defended,
By Canadians, French and British blended,
But Colonel, now I'll tell you, why we've risen,
From out of the bosom of the earth's cold prison—
We ask of you to pay us one tribute,
By firing from these heights, one last salute."

The grave sonorous words of the martial request were hardly uttered ere through the darkness of the night, the great cannon boomed out a soldier's welcome and a brave man's requiem—causing women's hearts to throb, and men's to exult at the warlike sound. While the whole air was trembling with the sullen reverberation and the sky was illuminated with rockets and Roman candles, Colonel Strange responded to his ghostly visitant, in the following original composition :

" 'Tis Hugh McQuarters, and his comrades brave,
To-night have risen from their glorious grave—
To you we owe our standard still unfurled,
Yet flaunts aloft defiance to the world :
God grant in danger's hour we prove as true,
In duty's path, as nobly brave as you.
This night we pass, in revel, dance and song
The weary hours you watched so well and long,
Mid storm and tempest met the battle shock,
Beneath the shadow of the beetling rock ;
When foemen found their winding sheet of snow,
Where broad St. Lawrence wintry waters flow.

* Bombardier Dunn, who impersonated the dead sergeant, Hugh McQuarters, is the author of these lines.

Yes ! once again those echoes shall awake,
 In thunders, for our ancient comrades sake ;
 The midnight clouds by battle bolts be riven,
 Response like Frontenac's may yet be given
 If foeman's foot our sacred soil shall tread.
 We seek not history's bloody page to turn,
 For us no boastful words aggressive burn,
 Forgotten, few, but undismayed we stand,
 The guardians of this young Canadian land.
 Oh, blessed peace ! thy gentle pinions spread,
 Until all our battle flags be fur'd,
 In the poet's federation of the world.

For us will dawn no new centennial day—
 Our very memories will have passed away,
 Our beating hearts be still, our bodies dust ;
 Our joys and sorrows o'er, our swords but rust.
 Your gallant deeds will live in history's page,
 In fire side stories, told to youth by age ;
 But sacred writ still warn us yet again,
 How soldier's science and his valour's vain
 Unless the Lord of Hosts the City keep :
 The mighty tremble and the watchmen sleep,
 Return grim soldiers to your silent home
 Where we, when duty's done, will also come.

It will not be easy for any of those fortunate enough to have witnessed the impressive and natural way in which this *coup de théâtre* was arranged ever to forget it. Taken either as a *tableau vivant* of a possible historic event, or as an example of truthful spirited eloquence, on both sides, it was a perfect success.

At the suggestion of the resident American Consul, Hon. W. C. Howells, the old house in St. Louis Street, in which the body of General Montgomery was laid out on the 1st January, 1776, was decorated with the American flag, and brilliantly illuminated that night."

With the boom of cannon and the remembrance of the patriots who nobly did their duty one hundred years ago, ended for Quebec, the year 1875.

PLANS
OF
IMPROVEMENT OF THE CITY OF QUEBEC
SUGGESTED BY LORD DUFFERIN.

**Lord Dufferin's Plans for the preservation of its Historic
Monuments.—Revival of the Historic Castle of St. Louis.
—Quebec to be the Summer Residence of the
Governor General of Canada.**

Many a vanished year and age,
And tempest's breath and battle's rage,
Have swept o'er Corinth ; yet she stands
A fortress formed to Freedom's hands.
The whirlwind's wrath, the earthquake shock,
Have left untouched her hoary rock,
The key-stone of a land.—

The Siege of Corinth.—LORD BYRON.

“¹ There is no denying that if the scheme proposed by His Excellency be carried out in its entirety, in connection with other improvements actually in contemplation, Quebec will not only have its modern requirements more than satisfied, but will become the show city of this continent, to which thousands of strangers will annually flock to view a grandeur of scenery unsurpassed on this side of the Atlantic, conjointly with the relics of an eventful and heroic past for which the outside world has a special veneration. Familiarity, it has been truly said,

¹ These truthful remarks are borrowed from the *Morning Chronicle* — the *Christmas number* of which contains also the *Plans* and diagrams of the City Embellishments; the plates were generously paid for by J. J. Foote, Esq.,—to whom on this occasion the City owes a substantial debt of gratitude.

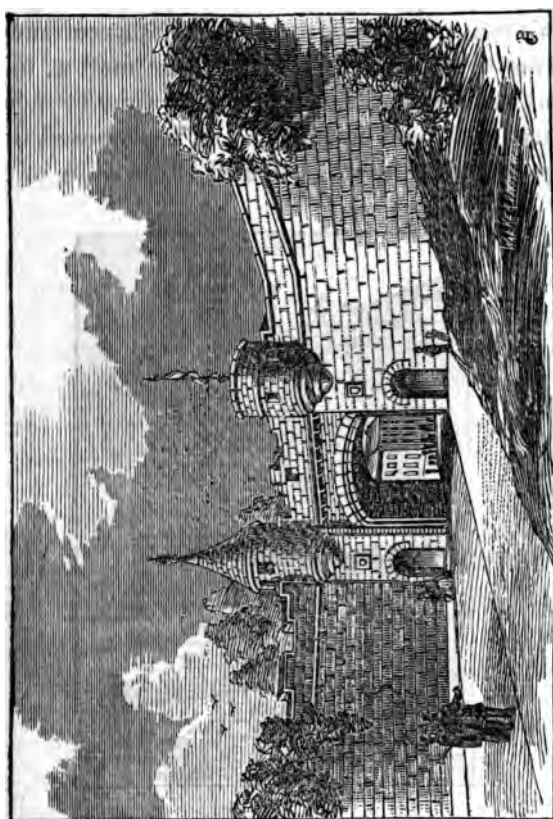
breeds contempt, and this self-same familiarity with our crumbling fortifications has engendered among ourselves an under-estimate of the value attached by strangers to them, and to the other mementoes of by-gone days, which abound in our midst. Not altogether improperly, outsiders regard Quebec as common property, a bit of the old world transferred to the new, tucked away carefully in this remote corner of the continent, and to be religiously preserved from all iconoclastic desecration, especially from that phase of the latter, which goes by the name of modern improvement with some, but passes for wanton vandalism with others. They wish to have to say still of Quebec at the present day, as Longfellow sang of Nuremberg, that is a—

Quaint old town of toil and traffic,
Quaint old town of art and song,
Memories haunt thy pointed gables,
Like the rocks that round them throng.

“ In addition to being the oldest city in North America, Quebec, historically speaking, is also the most interesting. The traditions and associations, which cling to its beetling crags and hoary battlements, and cluster around its battle fields, monuments and institutions, are numerous and important in the eyes of the world. History speaks from every stone of its ruined walls, and from every stand point of its surroundings; antiquity is stamped upon its face, and quaintness is its chief characteristic. In the computation of our yearly income, the revenue we derive from these attractions, coupled with those supplied by the magnificent panorama of Nature with which the city is encircled, forms no incon-

siderable item. We imagine it will not be denied by any rational person that the stream of travel which tends this way with the return of each fine season, as surely as that season itself, is an immense advantage to the totality of the inhabitants, for it is a well recognized truth that where any special class, trade or calling in a community is benefitted, the whole are benefitted by the increase of the circulating medium. It is therefore a self evident duty on our part to do all we reasonably can to preserve to Quebec its character of interest and antiquity, which is much prized by the rest of the world, and is so valuable in a material point of view to ourselves. We should also, if possible, exert ourselves in the same direction to so enhance, by artificial means, the splendid scenic advantages we offer to admiring sight-seers, that like the Neapolitans, when they speak of Naples to the European traveller, we may tell the American to see Quebec and die. At the same time such modern improvements as can be effected without serious detriment to our historical monuments, such as our gates and ramparts, should not be neglected, to advance the growth and embellishment of the city and to facilitate communication between its older and newer parts. This is just what Lord Dufferin's plans and views with regard to Quebec propose to do. We have been favored with a sight of the admirably executed plans and designs, prepared by Mr. Lynn, the eminent civil engineer commissioned by Lord Dufferin to carry out his intentions, and who, it will be remembered, accompanied His Lordship and the Minister of Militia last summer, on their examination of the military

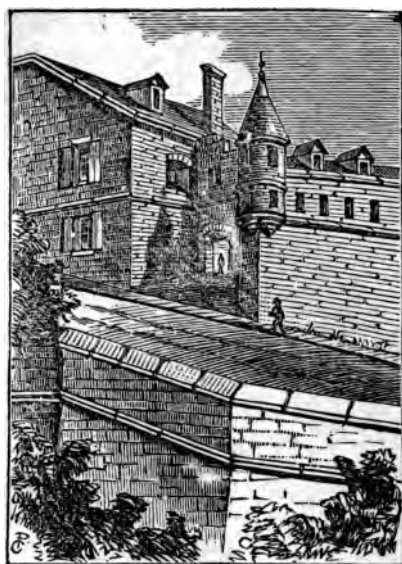
works and grounds. It will also be recalled that it was with considerable reluctance that His Excellency



St. John's Gate.

consented at all to the removal of the old gates and the cutting through of the walls on the western side of the fortress, and that it was only his well-known consideration for the wishes and requirements of the

people of Quebec that induced him to concur in the demand for increased facility of communication between the city and its suburbs. According to Mr. Lynn's plans, it is easy to see that His Excellency still adheres to his original ideas in the matter, to some extent, while desiring at the same time to meet the popular wish and necessity. It is proposed that all the gates, with the exception of Hope Gate, or rather

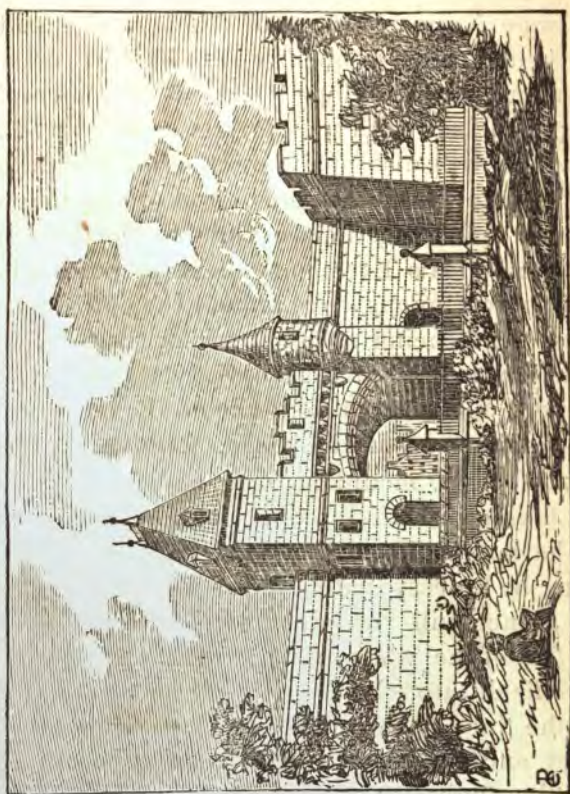


Hope Hill.

the present apertures, are to be bridged or arched over, in viaduct fashion, with handsome bridges either in iron or stone, so as to preserve the continuity of the fortifications. In this way, the openings in the ramparts, including that for the extension of Nouvelle street, will remain as free to traffic as they are

at present. St. John's Gate is, of course, included with the others in this category. All the bridges or arches over the gates will be flanked with picturesque Norman turrets, of different size and designs such as are frequently seen in old French and German castles. Hope Gate, it is contemplated simply to flank with such turrets, some twelve more of which will also at different other points adorn and relieve the monotonous effect of the long dead line of wall from Palace Gate to the Parliament Buildings. His Excellency next proposes a boulevard or continuous drive around the entire fortifications, commencing at the Durham Terrace, which he wishes to have prolonged westwards to the King's Bastion, and thus make it one of the most magnificent promenades in the world, with an unequalled view of river, mountain, crag and island scenery, and taking in both the upper and lower portions of the harbour. Thence the boulevard will continue, rising by an easy incline to the foot of the Citadel, and thence will run along the crest of the cliff at the foot of the walls round to the rough ground or Cove field, through which it will be carried, following the line of the fortifications, crossing St. Louis street and entering the Glacis on the north side of that thoroughfare; the square of which comprised between St. Louis street, St. Eustache street, the extension of Nouvelle street and the walls, His Excellency wishes to have formed into a park or ornamental pleasure ground, communicating with the Esplanade by means of a sally-port through the rampart. Through this park, the boulevard will be continued down across St. John street and around

through the gardens and grounds of the Artillery Barracks, to Palace Gate, crossing in its passage



St. Louis Gate.

three other openings in the fortification wall to give direct communication with the city to D'Aiguillon, Richelieu and St. Olivier streets such openings being bridged over in the same fashion as the others. From Palace Gate the boulevard will follow the

present line of Rampart street, round to the Parliament Buildings, in rear of which it will pass and then traverse Mountain Hill over a handsome iron bridge flanked with turrets, on the site of old Prescott Gate, to Fortification Lane, in rear of the Post Office, which will be enlarged and graded up, back again to the Durham Terrace or original point of departure, thus making a continuous, unbroken cir-



Artillery Store.—Palace Gate.

cuit of the entire fortifications, and providing a public promenade that will undoubtedly be unsurpassed by anything of the sort in the world, and cannot fail to attract thousands of profitable visitors to Quebec. It is estimated that His Excellency's idea in this respect could be carried out at an outlay of

ninety thousand dollars, of which the city would only be asked to contribute thirty thousand, the Federal



Mountain Hill.—Iron Bridge.

authorities making up the difference. But His Excellency does not seem satisfied to stop short even at this work of embellishment in his desire to pro-

mote the interest of our good old city. He wishes that it should become also the abode of the representative of royalty in Canada, at least during the summer season, and, in order that it should enjoy to the fullest all the importance and material benefit likely to flow from this circumstance, he further proposes to have a regular and fitting vice regal residence erected for himself on the Citadel, to be styled the Castle of St. Louis or *Chateau St. Louis*, and to revive the ancient splendors of that historic residence of the early governors of New France. We have also seen the plans and sketches of this building and must admit that, if constructed, it will of itself materially enhance the appearance of Quebec, and, when taken in conjunction with the proposed new Parliamentary and Departmental buildings and new Court House, will contribute largely to the scheme of the city embellishment. As Quebec is approached by water or from any point whence the Citadel is visible, it will be a striking object, as it will stand forth in bold relief to the East of the present officers' quarters, with a frontage of 200 feet and a depth partly of 60 and partly of 100 feet, with a basement, two main storys and attics, and two towers of different heights, but of equally charming design. The style of architecture is an agreeable *mélange* of the picturesque Norman and Elizabethan. The intention is, we believe, to have the quoins and angle stones of cut stone and the filling in of rough ashlar—the old stone from the fortifications being utilized for that purpose. The estimated cost of the structure is \$100,000; but we have not heard whether the

city will be asked to contribute to it. We are inclined, however, to think not, as it would be solely



The New Château St. Louis.

a Dominion work, for Dominion purposes, and erected upon Dominion property. Such, as far as we understand it, from the plans, is Lord Dufferin's very excellent and praiseworthy project for the

improvement and embellishment of Quebec, and we are satisfied that as His Lordship appears to have made up his mind in its favor, it will not fail to be carried out in due time. As to when it will be commenced, of course, we are not in position to speak; but when it does, the expenditure of money it will entail and the employment it will give to the labouring classes and tradesmen generally, apart from any other of the favourable considerations we have pointed out, will be very opportune and acceptable to the people of the ancient capital.¹ In bringing the matter forward so prominently, Lord Dufferin has done a great thing for Quebec, for which its inhabitants cannot thank him too warmly.

¹ Estimated cost of city improvements, as suggested by Lord Dufferin, from Report of Mr. A. Woods, President, City Council Committee:—

1. Iron bridge over Mountain Hill, a little south-westward of Buade street steps, say 50ft. span and 10ft. broad.....	\$3,000 00
Turret on west side say.....	500 00
do east side.....	1,000 00
2. Opening St. Helen street through to St. Oliver and D'Aiguillon, inclusive of arch over opening and turrets complete	15,000 00
3. Demolishing St. John Gate and throwing arch or bridge over opening with turrets.....	15,000 00
4. Retaining walls to arch over, and turrets to opening in Rampart wall, at Dauphine street	15,000 00
5. Retaining walls to turrets and arch or bridges over St. Louis street at site of old gate.....	15,000 00
6. Lowering grade of Rampart street.....	2,000 00
7. Twelve turrets to city walls, Rampart street	12,000 00
8. Path or promenade around Citadel—2,000 feet....	5,000 00
9. Pleasure grounds westward of Esplanade.....	10,000 00
Total	\$93,500 00

N. B.—As the gates may perhaps be done at \$12,000 each, instead of \$15,000, it would reduce total cost to \$81,500, or to \$50,000 if the proposed gates were replaced by mere bridges as far as Mountain Hill.

It only remains for the city to meet his generous proposition in a like spirit of liberality, and it will go hard with old Stadacona if, between the North Shore Railway, the graving dock, the tidal docks, the harbor improvements of all kinds, and the proposed new buildings for the Legislature, public departments and the law courts, the condition of its people be not before long materially bettered and the appearance of things considerably improved.

“ For the information of outsiders, we may add that since the above was written, the City Council of Quebec has not only responded to His Excellency’s suggestions by a vote of \$30,000, but the Local Government has gone a step further and made provision, as far as comes within its purview, to co-operate in carrying out of Lord Dufferin’s admirable designs by an appropriation of \$93,500.

“ It is scarcely necessary on this occasion, to recall the eventful history of Quebec, but, as the present year brings about a memorable anniversary, interesting alike to ourselves and to our republican neighbors, it may be well to allude to it. We refer to the centennial of the death, at the very portals of this fortress, of a gallant foe, the American General Montgomery. It is not our desire by any means to rekindle the rancors and strifes of that distant period ; and, to prove this, on the 31st of December instant, exactly one hundred years since Arnold and Montgomery were thundering at our gates, and the latter was shedding his life-blood amid the snows at Près-de-Ville, the military authorities—descendants of the men who so bravely withstood the attack—and the citizens of Quebec generally, intend to com-

memorate in becoming manner the important event. There, commingling together in perfect harmony, will be found the representatives of the two great mother nations, who contended so long and so bitterly for sovereignty in the New World, as well as of that young, but vigorous offshoot of Great Britain, which is now personified in the United States. On such an occasion, it is needless to point out the additional interest with which Quebec will be invested.

" The limits of our present space will not permit our entering into such details just now ; but we may simply remind the reader that, from a military point of view, Quebec has been ever regarded as occupying the strongest natural position, next to Gibraltar, in the entire world. Hence the continued and sanguinary struggle for its possession between two of the greatest nations of the old world, and, latter on, between Great Britain ¹ and the States of the

¹ THE ENGLISH SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR, ON THE PROPOSED CITY EMBELLISHMENTS, March 1876. (From *Morning Chronicle*, 14 March 1876.)

" Very prominent from a Canadian and especially from a Quebec stand point will be some two or three graceful remarks which fell from the lips of the Right Honorable G. Hardy, on the very important occasion of his submitting the Army Estimates to the House of Commons in Committee, assembled. They were as follows :—

" Connected with the works of building he wished to mention what he thought would be a patriotic and kindly act towards one of our colonies. Lord Dufferin had told him that with great difficulty he had arranged to retain the ancient fortifications which were so great an ornament to Quebec. The work of demolition had been stopped, and gates were to be constructed with a view to afford free access to different streets. Lord Dufferin proposed that, on the part of the British Army, a present should be made to the city of one of these gates, to be called the Wolfe and Montcalm Gate, so as to connect in this way the names of two illustrious men equally celebrated for their gallantry, their noble disposition, and the generosity they always displayed to their soldiers and to each other. (Cheers.) It struck him that the

American Union.¹ It has, in its day successfully and unsuccessfully withstood many sieges, now

Committee would not be disinclined to sanction this expenditure. (Cheers.) It would amount to only £200; and would be most grateful, he believed, to the French Canadians, as well as the descendants of those who had gone out from among ourselves." (Cheers.)

It would be difficult for the tersest of orators to have condensed into so small a number of words, sentiments so numerous and amicable. Lord Dufferin is given full and well deserved praise for his spirited exertions in putting aside the sluggish apathy which has been of late years the distinguishing emblem of this city's transactions with the outer and civilized world. His proposal, made in the glorious name of the British Army, that the nationalities, of which we are composed should be symbolically represented by being blended into one monumental pile, taking the form of a gate, which would at once be a reminiscence of English valour and French courage was evidently much to the taste of the Hon. gentleman and of the House, as was evinced by the applause. We can accept the War Secretary's opinions anent us, without reserve or doubt, believing that they are echoed far and wide throughout the English Empire. As another evidence of the appreciation in which old Stadacona is still held at home, and of the implicit and unswerving belief they have there, in the power of our Governor General to succeed in his friendly efforts to rescue us from falling into Babylonian ruin or Sidonian desolation, we may well be gratified with Mr. Gathorne Hardy's mention of the Rock City."

¹ The valuable buildings, extensive fortifications and city walls, handed over by the Imperial Authorities to the Dominion Government, are a legacy which, let us hope, will bring no disgrace on the latter, and which they are in honor, bound to look after; some portions of the walls require even now, slight repairs and will become an eye-sore unless kept up. The city corporation also holds *in trust* very valuable property, of whose maintenance an intelligent public will exact a rigid account.

It is pleasing to be able to connect the city surveyor, Chs. Bail-largé, Esq., as evinced by his previous printed Reports, with many of the boldest and most striking features of the Dufferin plan of embellishments. Some of the earliest of which ought, in our opinion, to be: the prolongation of the Durham Terrace—the widening of the Rampart street, facing the St. Lawrence, by purchasing a strip of land from the Seminary—the ornamentation with trees, verdure and a *jet d'eau* of the square (the market) in front of the Basilica.

at the hands of the savage aborigines of the country, and now at those of their more civilized brethren. From its foundation down to a century ago, its history has been mainly characterized by warfare and bloodshed, stirring events of flood, and field, and military glories, which are alike claimed by the descendants of two great races, who form its present population. Turning from this aspect of the ancient city, it must also be remembered that for two centuries it was the site whence France exercised an astonishing sovereignty over a gigantic territory extending from the Gulf of St. Lawrence, along the shores of that noble river, its magnificent lakes, and down the Missisipi to its outlet below New Orleans ; and whence, in the assertion of the supremacy of the Gallic lily, the missionary pioneered the path of the soldier, in those benevolent plans for the religious instruction and conversion of the savages, which at one time distinguished the policy of the early Governors of New France. In fine, as we have already stated, history speaks from every stone of its frowning battlements, from every tortuous winding of its antiquated streets, from the number and age of its institutions of religion, charity and education, from its quaint buildings, and generally from the many monuments and relics of an eventful past, which crowd each other within its hoary walls. All these, it is the commendable desire of Lord Dufferin not only to carefully preserve, but to improve as far as possible without obstructing the growth and advanced ideas of modern Quebec, as will be more readily gathered from the illustrations of his designs which we present to our readers this morning,

hoping with all our heart to see them carried out at an early date, so that we may still further strengthen the claim of the interesting and venerable city of Champlain to its present device—*Naturâ fortis, industriâ crescit.*"



**Our Governors, Mayors, Fortifications, &c.; Educational
Establishments; Religious and Benevolent foundations;
Churches, Public Buildings, Press, Population,
Shipbuilding, Cemeteries, &c.**

French Governors.

Samuel de Champlain (Vice-Roy),		1612.
Marc-Antoine de Bras-de-Fer de Chateaufort , (Vice-Roy),		1635.
Charles Huault de Montmagny	(Governor), 11th June,	1636.
Louis D'Ailleboust de Coulonge ,	" Aug.,	1648.
Jean de Lauson ,	"	1651.
Charles de Lauson—Charny ,		1656.
Louis D'Ailleboust de Coulonge ,		1657.
Pierre de Voyer , Viscount d'Argenson, "	11th July,	1658.
Pierre Du Bois , Viscount d'Avaugour, "	31st Aug.,	1661.
Augustin de Saffray , Sieur de Mesy, "	1st May,	1663.
Alexandre de Prouville , Marquis de Tracy, (Vice-Roy)		1665.
Daniel de Rémi , Sieur de Courcelle,	23rd Sept.,	1665.
Louis de Buade , Comte de Frontenac, Governor,	12th Sept.	1672.
Antoine Joseph Lefebvre , Sieur de la Barre, "	9th Oct.,	1682.
Jacques René de Brisay , Marquis de Nonville, "	3rd Aug,	1685.
Louis de Buade , Comte de Frontenac, "	28th Nov.,	1689.
Louis Hector de Callière ,	" 14th Sept.,	1699.
Philippe de Rigaud , Marquis de Vaudreuil,	17th Sept.,	1703.
Charles LeMoine , Baron de Longueuil, Commandant,		1725.

Charles Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor,	11th Jan.,	1726.
Roland Michel Barrin, Comte de la Galissonnière, Gov.	14th March,	1747.
Jacq. Pierre de Toffanel, Marquis de la Jonquière,	16th June,	1749.
Charles Le Moine, Baron de Longueuil, (Jr.) Commandant,		1752.
Marquis Du Quesne de Menneville, Governor,	7th "	1752.
Pierre Rigaud de Vaudreuil de Cavagnal, Gov.	10th July,	1755.

English Governors.

Brigadier General Jas. Murray, Governor,	21st Nov.,	1763.
Paulus Emilius Irvine, Administrator,	30th June,	1766.
Guy Carleton, Lt.-Gov. and Com. in Chief,	23rd Sept.,	1766.
Guy Carleton,	12th April,	1768.
Hector Theophilus Cramahé, Lt.-Governor,	9th Aug.,	1770.
Guy Carleton,	18th Sept.,	1774.
Sir Frederick Haldimand,	30th June,	1778.
Henry Hamilton, Lt.-Gov. and Com. in Chief,	25th Aug.	1784.
Lt. Col. Henry Hope " " "	16th Nov.	1785.
Lord Dorchester, (Guy Carleton) Governor General,	2nd Nov.	1786.
Sir Alured Clark, Lt.-Gov. and Com. in Chief,	23rd Oct.	1791.
Lord Dorchester, Governor General,	24th Sept.,	1793.
Maj. Genl. Robert Prescott, Lt.-Gov.		1796.
" " " Gov. General,		1797.
Sir Robt. Shore Milnes, Bart., Lt.-Gov.,	31st July,	1799.
Hon. Thomas Dunn, President,	31st July,	1805.
Sir James H. Craig, K. B., Governor General,	24th Oct.,	1807.
Hon. Thomas Dunn, President,	19th June,	1811.
Lt.-Genl. Sir George Prevost, Bart., Gov. General,	14th Sept.,	1811.
Sir Gordon Drummond, G.C.B., Adm. in Chief,	4th April,	1815.
Major Genl. John Wilson, Administrator,	22nd May,	1816.
Sir J. C. Sherbrooke, K. G. C., Gov. General,	12th July,	1816.
Charles Lennox, Duke of Richmond, K.C.B., Gov. Genl.	30th July,	1818.
Hon. James Monk, President,	20th Sept.,	1819.
Lt.-Genl. Sir Peregrine Maitland, K. C. B., Administrator,		1819.
George Ramsay, Earl of Dalhousie, G C B., Gov. Genl.	18th June,	1820.
Sir Frs. Nathaniel Burton, Lieut.-Gov., G. C. H.	7th June,	1824.
Earl of Dalhousie, G. C. B., Gov. General,	23rd Sept.,	1825.
Sir James Kempt, G. C. B., Administrator,	8th Sept.,	1828.
Matthew Whitworth, Genl. Lord Aylmer, G. C. B., Gov. Genl.,	19th July,	1830.
Archibald Acheson, Lord Gosford, G. C. B., Governor General,		
	24th Aug.,	1835.
Sir John Colborne, K. C. B., Gov. General.,	27th Feby.,	1838.

John George Lambton, Earl of Durham, K. C. B., Governor Genl.	
	29th May, 1838.
Sir John Colborne, Lord Seaton, K. C. B. Governor General,	
	1st Nov., 1838.
C. P. Thompson, Lord Sydenham, K. C. B, Gov. Genl.,	1841.
Lt -Genl. R. D. Jackson, Administrator,	1841.
Sir Charles Bagot, K. C. B.,	" " 1842.
C. T. Metcalf, Lord Metcalf, K. C. B.,	" " 1843.
Chs. Murray, Earl of Cathcart, K. C. B.,	" " 24th Aug. 1845.
James Bruce, Earl of Elgin, K. C. B.,	" " 30th Jany. 1847.
Genl Sir Wm. Rowan, Administrator,	24th Aug. 1853.
Sir Edmund Head, K. C. B., Governor General.,	12th Dec., 1854.
Genl. Wm. Eyre, Administrator,	20th June, 1857.
Sir Wm. Fenwick Williams, Administrator,	12th Oct., 1860.
Lord Monck, K. C. B.,	25th Oct., 1861.
Lord Monck, Gov. Genl. Dominion,	4th June, 1867.
Sir John Young (Lord Lisgar), P. C. G. C. B. G. C. M. G., Gov.	
General,	2nd Dec., 1868.
Earl of Dufferin, P. C., K. P. K. C. B., Gov. Genl.,	25th June, 1872.
Genl O'Grady Haly, Administrator,	1875.
Earl of Dufferin,	1875.

Municipal Institutions.

The first trace—a faint one—of municipal institutions in the city, occur in 1668, ¹ when the citizens sought protection against the powerful companies, feudal and commercial, which preyed on the country. Quebec, that year, elected a mayor : Jean-Baptiste Legardeur, Sieur de Repentigny, and two aldermen : Jean Madry and Claude Charron. These civic dignitaries, though sworn in to office, met with such determined opposition that they were compelled to send in their resignations ; the citizens and burgesses were feign to be content with a *syndic*, in the person of alderman Claude Charron—he also, the sovereign council forced to resign. We have to wait close on a century, for another mayor. M. Daine, in 1759, *Maire de Québec et Lieutenant-Général de la Police*, is the next. After the shaking up the Quebec commercial folks received on the 13th September 1759, we find the leading merchants and a few others, signing on the 15th September, a petition headed by the Mayor and by “ Panet, Procureur du Roy, and Tachet, *syndic du commerce*,” to the Commandant, of the garrison, the Chevalier de Ramezay, to open the gates to Wolfe’s victorious army,—in order to prevent the city from being plundered and

¹ Bibaud.

the inhabitants butchered. De Ramezay assembled a council of war composed of the few French officers remaining in the garrison and ordered each member to give separately and above his signature, his opinion as to a capitulation. It is curious to peruse the reasons assigned by each member of the council of war—one only, M. de Fiedmont, voted "no surrender." His worship the mayor (M. Daine), later on, viz. on the 9th October 1759, writes to the French Minister, that when the city surrendered, to feed 2,676 mouths and a garrison of 800 soldiers, all what remained within the walls was: 23 barrels of Indian corn, 18 barrels of flour, 25 barrels of rice, with a little pork and other *rafraichissements*.¹ (MÉMOIRES DE RAMEZAY, *Evénements de la guerre*, P. 28.)

Under English rule, the city was provided with a Mayor and Councillors for the first time in 1833, though several of the lower-town merchants, according to the *Quebec Gazette*,² in December 1793, got up a petition to His Excellency Lord Dorchester, for a charter of incorporation for the city: the attempt, however, was patriotically frowned down.

The old oil lamps were put out in 1848, and gas light substituted 1st January, 1849—a Boston engineer, Mr. Baldwin, in 1853, left traces of his ingenuity at Quebec, by building our Lorette Château-d'eau and City Water Works. A system of drainage was also provided that year, and twelve years later, in 1865, a noticeable phase of improvement was added: a fire telegraph through the city and suburbs. These changes cost money, however; on the 30th April, 1875, our city debt was \$3,339,443.98. It would appear that the assessed value of the immoveable property is \$24,000,000, of which \$5,000,000 represent military government, religious or school properties exempt from taxation. For the year ended 30th April, 1875, the revenue of the city was, including water rates, \$350,000.

Up to 1833, the municipal affairs of the city were administered by Justices of the Peace, sitting in special sessions for that purpose, under the authority of acts of the Provincial Legislature. In 1832, the city was incorporated (1 William, 4, chap. 52); it was divided into ten wards, each ward electing two members:

1833.—Elzéar Bedard, Mayor.

Joseph Légaré, Charles Cazeau, Ebenezer Baird, Colin McCallum,

¹ *Mémoires de Ramezay*, p. 27. The Quebec merchants and others whose names are attached to the petition to the Commander of the garrison are: Tachet, *sindic du commerce*, Pre. Jehannes, Ch. Morin, Boi-seau, Voyés, Me. R. verin, Dubreuil, Chabosseau, Larcher, Cardeneau, Fornel, Moreau fils, Meynardie jeune, Monnier, Gautier, J. Lassale, L'Evesque, Fremont, Grollaux, Lee, Boisse, Jean Monnier, A. Malroux.

² In the *Quebec Gazette* of the 12th December 1793, the following advertisement occurs: "The petition to His Excellency Lord Dorchester, for a charter of incorporation for the city of Quebec, lays at the Merchants' Coffee House, lower-town, for signing."

Joseph Tourangeau, Edouard Glackemeyer, Jean Tourangeau, Pierre Dasilva, François Robitaille, Charles DeGuise, Joseph Petitclerc, John Malcolm Fraser, Joachim Mondor, P. M. Paquet, Charles M. De Foye, Joseph Hamel, Michel Tessier, R. E. Caron.

Jean Langevin, was town clerk. The Act I, William IV, chap. 52, expiring on the 1st May 1836, not having been revived, the corporation ceased to exist and its powers became re-invested in the magistrates.

1840—R. E. Caron, Mayor. This corporation was appointed by the Governor General, for a term of office to expire 1st December 1842, their successors being subject to election by the people. George Futvoye was elected City Clerk by the Council, 1840.

MAYORS OF QUEBEC.

(Hon.) Elzéar Bédard,	1833-6	Olivier Robitaille, M. D.,	1856
R. E. Caron,	1840	Jos. Morrin, M.D.,	1857
" "	1841	Hon. H. L. Langevin,	1858
" "	1842	" "	1859
" "	1843	" "	1860
" "	1844	Thos. Pope,	1861
" "	1845	" "	1862
George O'kill Stuart, Esq.,	1846	" "	1863
" "	1847	Adolphe G. Tourangeau,	1864
" "	1848	" "	1865
" "	1849	Hon. J. Cauchon,	1866
" "	1850	" "	1867
Sir N. F. Belleau, Knight,	1851	John Lemesurier,	1868
" "	1852	" "	1869
" "	1853	Adolphe G. Tourangeau,	1870
(Hon.) U. J. Tessier,	1853	Hon. P. Garneau,	1870—1871
C. Alleyn,	1854	" "	1872—1873
Jos. Morrin, M. D.,	1855	Owen Murphy,	1874—1876

CITY CLERKS.

Jean Langevin,	1833—1836	F. X. Garneau,	1845—1864
George Futvoye,	1840—1845	L. A. Cannon,	1864—1876

CITY TREASURERS.

F. Austin,	1833	Aug. Gauthier,	1851
W Bennett,	1850	L. E. Dorion,	1868

The affairs of the city are entrusted to the management of eight aldermen and sixteen councillors, presided by a Mayor elected for two years, with a salary of \$1,200 per annum.

The good order and protection of life and property is entrusted to a Provincial Police Force, composed of seventy-three men, paid partly by the Council and partly by the Province, under a Superintendent (Captain Heigham).

The Council sits weekly in a plain building, on St. Louis street, purchased from the heirs Walker.

By Indenture, bearing date 9th March, 1875.—Her Majesty, duly represented by the Hon. the Minister of Militia and Defence, for Canada, leased the following properties, situate at Quebec, heretofore in the use of the Imperial Government, to the Corporation of the City of Quebec, to be held *in trust*, for the term of TEN years, from 1st May, 1876, as follows :

1. The Governor's lower Garden, at a yearly rental of \$1.
2. The Glacis from DeCarrière street, to road leading to the citadel, at an annual rental of \$80.
3. The Cove Fields technically called the " Rough Ground," south of the *Grande Allée*, from the fortifications to Seminary Lot, bounded by Martello Towers Nos. 1 & 2, for an annual rental of \$240.
4. The " Exercising Ground " for the troops commonly called the Race Course, for an annual rental of \$200.
5. The " Cricket Field " outside of St. Louis Gate, on north side of the *Grande Allée*, for an annual rent of \$85.
6. The narrow strip of land at foot of cliff, Palace Gate, on St. Vallier street, east of St. Roch street—annual rent \$12, with privilege to Government of resuming possession of these lands at any time hereafter, should they be required for military purposes.

Lessee bound to pay taxes, to repair and to keep up fences and not to cut down timber on said properties. Nor shall it be lawful to erect any building or structure whatever on the said leased premises nor to assign or sub-let any part thereof, without leave in writing from competent authority, with the further reserve as to the Race Course, of the use of it at all times, for military exercises and ammunition practices.

The lessee has the necessary power to embellish and make improvements on said lots, to receive a fair compensation for such improvements when property is given up; the same to be left in good repair. The hole in the wall recently dug out, opposite Anne street, was made in virtue of subsequent authority, obtained from the Hon. Mr. Laird, Minister of Militia and Defence on his late visit to Quebec. The site for the New Market Hall was a gift.

The Citadel and Fortifications of Quebec.

One is safe in dating back to the founder of the City, Champlain, the first fortifications of Quebec. The Chevalier de Montmagny his successor, added to them, and sturdy old Count de Frontenac, improved them much, between 1690 and 1694. Under French rule, Le Vasseur de Callière, de Lery, Le Mercier, Pontleroy, either carried out their own views as to outworks or else executed the plans devised by the illustrious strategist, Vauban.

" The historian Charlevoix thus describes, in 1720, what the fortifications were in 1711 :

" Quebec is not regularly fortified, though, for a long time past, efforts have been made to turn it into a strong place. The town, even with its presents defences, cannot easily be taken. The port is provided with two bastions, which in the high tides are nearly flanked

with the water : that is, about twenty-five feet above low water mark. During the equinox, the tide reaches to this height. A little above the bastion, on the right, a half-bastion has been constructed, which runs into the rock, and higher up, next to the Gallery of the Fort, there are twenty-five pieces of cannon, forming a battery. A small square fort, which goes under the name of the Citadel, is higher up, and the paths from one fortification to the other are very steep. On the left side of the port, along the shore, until the river St. Charles, there are good batteries of guns and a few mortars.

From the angle of the Citadel, facing the city, an oreillon of a bastion has been constructed, from which a curtain extends at right angles, which communicates with a very elevated cavalier, on which stands a fortified wind-mill. As you descend from this cavalier, and at the distance of a musket shot from it, you meet first a tower flanked with a bastion, and at the same distance from it, a second. The design was to line all this with stone, which was to have had the same angles with the bastions, and to have terminated at the extremity of the rock, opposite to the Palace, where there is already a small redoubt, as well as one on Cape Diamond. Such was the state of the fortifications at Quebec in 1711. Such they are now (1720), as may be seen by the plan in relief that Mr. Chaussegros de Léry, Chief Engineer, sends this year home (to France), to be deposited with other plans in the Louvre. In fact, the King had been so pleased with this plan, that he sent out instructions, and the works were begun in June, 1720.

The fortifications, commenced at the Palace, on the shore of the Little River St. Charles, and ended towards the Upper Town (the city walls then must have extended a little this side of St Ursule Street), which they encircled and terminated at the heights, towards Cape Diamond. From the (Intendant's) Palace, along the beach, a palisade had been erected, up to the Seminary fence (in Sault-au-Matelot quarter), where it closed in at the inaccessible rocks called the *Sault-au-Matelot*, where there was a three gun battery. There was also above this, a second palisade, terminating at the same point. The entrances to the city, where there were no gates, were protected by beams across and hogsheads filled with earth, instead of gabions, crowned by small field pieces. The circuitous path from the Lower to the Upper Town, was intercepted by three different intrenchments of hogsheads and bags of earth, with a species of *chevaux de frise*. In the course of the siege, a second battery was constructed at the *Sault-au-Matelot*, and a third at the gate (Palace Gate,) which leads to the St. Charles. Finally, some small pieces of ordnance had been mounted

about the Upper Town, and specially on a declivity, where a windmill had been erected as a cavalier—(on Mount Carmel, in rear of the old Military Hospital.)

The city had but three gates under French dominion: St. Louis, St. Jean and Palais. General James Murray records in his diary of the Siege, the care with which on the 5th May, 1760, he had Palace gate closed, "Palais gate was shut up all but the wicket."¹

Traces of the old French works are still plainly visible near the Martello Tower, in a line with Pereault's Hill, north of them. Under English rule, it will thus appear that the outer walls were much reduced.



Prescott Gate.

General Robert Prescott had the lower-town gate, which bears his name, erected about 1797, and the outer adjoining masonry.

Judging from an inscription on the wall to the west of this gate, additions and repairs seem to have been made here in 1815.

A handsome chain gate intercepting the road to the citadel, was

¹ "Cette même année (1694), on fit une redoubte au Cap au Diamand, un fort au Château et les deux portes Saint Louis et Saint Jean. . . La même année (1702) on commença les fortifications de Québec, sur les plans du Sieur Levasseur, qui eut quelque discussion avec M. Le Marquis de Crisay, qui, pour lors commandait la place."—(Relation de 1682-1712, publiée par la Société Littéraire et Historique.)

erected under the administration of the Earl of Dalhousie in 1827—also the citadel gate which is known as Dalhousie Gate. On the summit of the citadel, is erected the Flag Staff, wherefrom waves the British pennant, in longitude $71^{\circ} 12' 44''$ west of Greenwich, according to Admiral Bayfield; $71^{\circ} 12' 15''$ 5. o. according to Commander Ashe. It was by means of the haliard of this Flag staff, that General Theller and Colonel Dodge in October, 1838, made their escape from the citadel, where these Yankee sympathisers were kept prisoners. They had previously set to sleep the sentry, by means of drugged porter, when, letting themselves down with the flagstaff rope, they escaped out of the city despite all the precautions of the Commandant Sir James Macdonald, a Waterloo veteran.



Hope Gate.

The following inscription on Hope Gate describes when it was erected:

HENRICO HOPE
Copiarum Duce et provinciae sub prefecto
Protegente et adjuvante
Extracta,
Georgio III, Regi nostro,
Anno XXVI et salutis, 1786.

The narrative of Theller and Dodge's scribe was embodied in a volume, not remarkable for its contents ; the veracity of whose strictures, on the conduct of several loyal citizens has been more than once challenged.

From an entry in the unpublished diary of the late Mr. James Thompson, overseer of Military Public Works, at Quebec, in 1786, the Hope Gate inscription would be due to the action of the French Canadian citizens of Quebec, in appreciation of the condescension of General Hope in granting them a city gate at this spot. ¹

" September 9th, 1786. Weather pleasant. The people employed as yesterday. This afternoon the masons finished laying the Facia to the gate. I think it was high time, tho' in fact it could be no sooner reasonably expected, not only from the hands we have got, but from our not having cut stone ready before hand to bring us forward. I am persuaded it will take us till some time in November, before we can close the pediment. The French inhabitants, in compliment to the commander in chief, have requested to have something inscribed on a stone in this pediment to perpetuate his memory for his readiness in condescending to give the people a Gate in this quarter."

The martello Towers, named from their inventor in England, Col. Martello, date from 1805. They were built under Col. (General) Brock, and their erection, superintended by Lt. By, ² afterwards the well known Lt. Col. By, the builder of the Rideau Canal in 1832, and founder of Bytown (now Ottawa.)

The citadel covers an area of about forty acres, on the summit of Cape Diamond, an uneven and circular surface called " hog's back." Under French rule, there were, on the top, some temporary wooden structures intended as works of defence. " As early as 1767, Captains

¹ " The fortifications of Quebec " says W. J. Anderson, " are well worthy of special attention. Originating three centuries ago from the necessity of protecting the few inhabitants from the sudden and secret attacks of the Iroquois : from their small beginning in 1535, they eventually attained such vast proportions as to make Quebec be styled the *Gibraltar* of America.

Recently very great changes have been effected ; in the first place arising from the great changes in the military art ; in the second place, from the new policy of the Imperial Government, which has withdrawn every soldier. Prescott and St. Louis gates have been removed during the past autumn (1871) and other still greater changes have been talked of, but this will diminish very little the interest of the Tourist, who unless informed of the fact, would not be aware of the removal of the gates ; the remaining fortifications are in themselves a sight not to be seen elsewhere on this continent.

The fortifications now consist of those of the city proper, the *Ancient City*, and of the independent fortalice of the Citadel, which though within the City walls, is

² Lieutenant By during the period, 1805-10 had two Superior officers at Quebec—Colonel Gother Mann, who was succeeded by Lieutenant Colonel R. H. Bruyères—See Morgan's *Celebrated Canadians*.

Gordon and Man of the Royal Engineers furnished outlines of a project for a citadel at Cape Diamond, after 1775, the Imperial Government was awakened to the urgent necessity of improving the fortifications, and at length a plan for a temporary citadel was furnished by Captain Twiss, who commenced its erection in October 1779. From this date, improvements were actively pushed on, under Captain Gottermann. In 1793, Captain Fisher reported that the citadel, partially built by Captain Twiss, had fallen to decay, and a plan was sent to England for protecting St. John and St. Louis gates by outwards." The reconstruction of the citadel and fortifications dates back to 1823, and was carried out according to plans submitted to and approved by the late Duke of Wellington: the cut stone and building materials were hoisted from River craft by an inclined plane or tramway. The remains of that tramway can still be seen by ascending the *Foulon stairs* from Champlain street.

The citadel and walls were completed in 1832, at a cost of about \$25,000,000. The citadel is now in charge of the Canadian troops located there. The armory which was formerly an object of great interest has disappeared with the British troops.

The road to the citadel is cut through the *Glacis*, and enclosed on each side by solid stone walls. It leads into the principal ditch of the work, built upon both sides with walls of solid masonry and extending along the whole circumference of the citadel on the land and city sides. The main entrance is through Dalhousie gate, a massive construction. Within the arch of this gate are the guard-rooms. Outside of the gate, before entering it, is a spacious area used as a parade ground, or rather an enlargement of the ditch formed by the retiring angles and fall of the bastion. In the face of this bastion are loopholes for the fire of musketry from within and on the top are embrasures for cannon. The loopholes serve also for the admission of air and light into the casemated barracks within.

On the top of the bastion is an extensive covered way or broad

complete in itself. The ramparts and bastions form a circuit of the extent of two miles and three quarters, but if the line is drawn without the outworks would be increased to three miles. The Citadel occupies about forty acres. In order to inspect the works to most advantage, the visitor is recommended to proceed from his hotel up St. Louis street, and turning up the road between the Gate and the office of Engineers, ascend by its winding. The first thing that will attract his attention on arriving at the outworks, is the *Chain Gate*, passing through which and along the ditch he will observe the casemated *Dalhousie Bastion*, and reaching *Dalhousie Gate*, he will find that it is very massive and of considerable depth, as it contains the Guard-rooms. Passing through, a spacious area is entered forming a parade ground. On the right hand, there are detached buildings—ammunition stores and the armoury—On the south, the bomb proof hospital and officers quarters overlooking the St. Lawrence, and on the Town side, the Bastions with their casemated barracks, commodious, and comfortable, the loopholes intended for the discharge of musketry, from within, serving to admit light and air—from the Bastion to the Flag Staff, the Citadel is separated from the Town by a deep ditch and steep and broad *glacis*. The view from the Flag

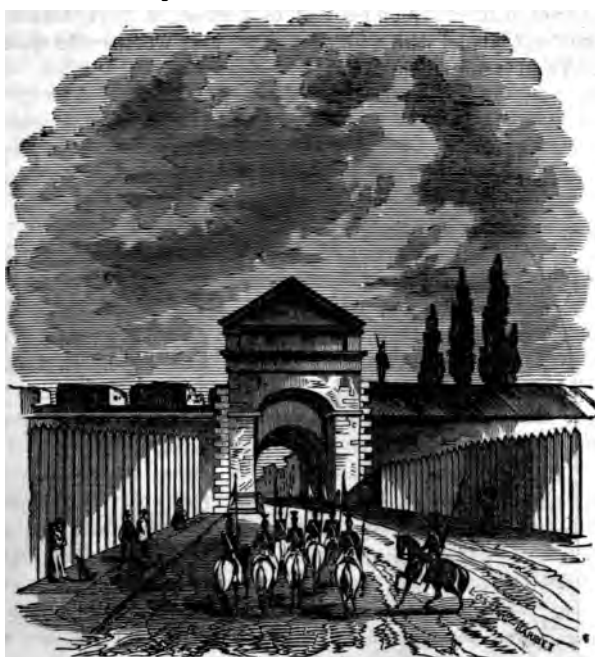
gravel walk with embrasures for mounting cannon, commanding every part of the ditch and glacis and every avenue of approach to the citadel. We would advise the visitor, as soon as he enters inside Dalhousie Gate, to ascend to that walk, turning his left, so that he may have a good view of the outside works and of the city. The buildings in the middle of the interior ground, have nothing of interest. When he reaches the *flag-staff*, let him pause and gaze on the splendid *panorama* which presents itself to his contemplation. Looking down towards the river, he sees the most active part of the port, the steamers, sea-going ships, the wharves and streets in the Lower Town. To his right, on the other side of the St. Lawrence, is the picturesquely built town of Lévis. In rear of the town, he discovers the new fortifications built by the military authorities. Following the shore of the river, his eye reaches the church of St. Joseph de Lévis, and, turning to the left, the extremity of the Island of Orleans, the entrance of the Montmorency river, on the north shore of the St. Lawrence, the church and village of Beauport, that of Charlesbourg, above the city; he can then realize the feeling of admiration that the splendid view offered by the Laurentian Mountains inspires to all lovers of nature.

Proceeding from the flag-staff to the south, towards the other corner of the citadel, the visitor walks past a platform surmounted by a flag and adjoining a stone building lately inhabited in the summer months by the Earl of Dufferin. Then he passes in front of the officers' mess, the hospital, the magazines and the observatory, where the falling of a black ball indicates the regular time to the mariners in the port at one o'clock, and he arrives at the south eastern end of the citadel. There is an *Ich Dien* carved in the stone on the wall to commemorate the place where the Prince of Wales laid his hand whilst visiting the citadel. From that place, he will see the Grand Trunk Terminus on the south shore of the St. Lawrence, the immense rafts of timber covering the beach for over two miles, and the church of St. Romuald. Then looking before him, on the north shore of the

Staff is very grand, but it is recommended that the visitor on arriving at the western angle overlooking the St. Lawrence, should place himself on the *Princes' Stand* indicated by a stone on which is sculptured the "Princes Feather," and there feast his eyes on—the wondrous beauties of the scene. Returning, the visitors, if pedestrians, should ascend the ramparts, 25 feet high, on which will be found a covered way, extending from the Citadel, and passing over St. Louis and St. John's Gates to the Artillery Barracks, a distance of 1837 yards, occupied by bastions, connected with curtains of solid masonry, and pierced at regular intervals with sally ports.

The Artillery Barracks, at south-west corner of the fortifications, overlook the valley of the St. Charles. Part of the buildings, which are extensive, was erected by the French in 1750; they are surrounded by fine grounds. Lately a very handsome additional barrack was erected outside for the use of the married men and their families. The *French* portion is two stories high, about six hundred feet in length, by forty in depth. They are now vacant.

river, his eye will embrace a section of the Plains of Abraham, one of the round towers called Martello Towers, and lower down the Montcalm Ward, in the middle of which appears the steeple of the Convent of the Good Shepherd. Let him now walk along the wall and return to Dalhousie gate."



St. Louis Gate, demolished, August, 1871.

The panorama, from some parts of the fortifications, is gorgeous

From the Artillery Barracks the walls, loopholed and embrasured extend to the westward and are pierced by Palace and Hope Gates, both of which lead to the valley of the St. Charles.

The first, Palace Gate, was one of the three original Gates of the City, and through it, a great portion of Montcalm's army passed in by St. John's and Louis Gates, after his defeat on the plains, went out again, and crossed by the Bridge of Boats to the Beauport camp. The Palace, St. John's and St. Louis Gates were reported in such a ruinous condition in 1791, that it became necessary to pull them down successively and rebuild them. The present Palace Gate is not more than forty years old, and is said to resemble one of the gates of Pompeii. The handsome gate of St. John has been built within a very few years; not that the old gate was in ruin but to meet the requirement of the times. St. Louis Gate for the same reason was wholly removed during the past year.

From Palace Gate, the wall extends to Hope Gate, a distance of three hundred yards. Hope Gate was built in 1786; all the approaches are strongly protected, and from its position on the rugged lofty cliff, it is very strong. At Hope Gate the ground which had gradually sloped from the Citadel begins to ascend again, and the wall is

lunary, the light still lingering on the spires of St. Roch, Lorette, above St. John's gate, there is a sunset view preeminently beautiful : the St. Charles gambling, as it were, in the rays of the departing luminary, until it fades far away in the azure, beyond the lofty mountains to the west, present an evening scene of surpassing splendor.

Charles Watterton ¹ on his visit to Quebec, in 1824, viewing the magnificent citadel with a prophetic eye, asks whether the quotation from Virgil is not applicable.

Sic vos, non vobis



Palace Gate.

St. Louis gate was originally built in 1694 ; it underwent considerable changes, until it assumed in 1823 its present appearance. It

continued from it, to the turning point at *Sault-au-Matelot*, between which and the Parliament House, is the *Grand Battery* of twenty-four, 32 pounders and four mortars. This Battery is two hundred feet above the St. Lawrence, and from its platforms, as well as from the site of the Parliament House, another magnificent prospect is obtained. Immediately under the Parliament House, which is built on the commanding site of the ancient *Bishop's Palace*, was, the last year, *Prescott Gate*, protected on either side by powerful outworks. This gate was built in 1797, while General Prescott was in command, and like St. Louis Gate was removed, for the accommodation of the public. From Prescott gate the wall extends to *Durham Terrace*, the rampart or foundation wall of which, was the foundation of the Castle of St. Louis.

¹ Watterton's Wanderings.

might have been, not improperly, called "The Wellington Gate," as it forms part of the plans of defence selected by the Iron Duke.

An old plan of de Lery, the French engineer, in 1751, exhibits a straight road, such as the present; there, from 1823 to 1871, existed the well remembered labyrinth of turns so curious to strangers and so inconvenient to traffic.

Palace gate was erected under French rule, and Murray, after his defeat, at Ste. Foye, 28th April, 1760, took care to secure it against the victorious Levis. In 1791, it was reported in a ruinous condition and was repaired. It assumed its present ornate appearance, in 1831, resembling, it is said, one of the gates of Pompeii,—about the time the Duke of Wellington gave us our citadel and walls.



The French Shield, 1759.

On one of the three city gates existing at Quebec in 1759 (probably the most fashionable and most used under French rule—Palace Gate) was hung the trophy ¹ shown above.

The shield, made of oak, measures 44 by 36 inches. The cleaning and varnishing have brought out the colours of the stones in the crown, as well as the gilding and color of the order of *Saint Esprit*, which surrounds the *Fleur de Lis*; the scroll is colored green, and the inscription is in gold letters on a black ground.

In a topographical description of Hastings, in Sussex, England,

¹ This antiquarian discovery is due to the researches of Mr. J. M. O'Leary, Ottawa.

published in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* for 1786, is found the first mention of the shield in the following paragraph.

"The town hall, over the market place, is a modern building; erected in 1700. In a frame hung up in it, is a long list of its mayors: the first of which was sworn as such in the year 1560, before which time a bailiff was the chief magistrate; the list commences in 1500. Near it the arms of France is fixed, largely carved on wood, and painted with proper colours, with embellishments, and was presented to the corporation by one of the officers (a jurat of Hastings) who was at the reduction of Quebec, where it was fixed over one of the gates of that city, all of which is inscribed in a tablet under the arms."

In this same Magazine for the year 1792, the following letter appears bearing date the 20th of January.

"The shield represented in plate III, figure 3, was taken from off one of the gates of Quebec in the year 1759, and was presented by General Murray, to the corporation of Hastings. As this trophy commemorates so noble a conquest, and the inscription does honor to the General who made a present of it, the inserting of them in your magazine will oblige yours, &c.,
Lincolniensis.

"This shield was taken from off one of the gates of Quebec at the time that a conquest was made of that city by His Majesty's sea and land forces, in the memorable year 1759, under the commands of the Admirals Saunders and Holmes, and the Generals Wolfe, Monckton, Townshend and Murray; which latter, being appointed the first British Governor thereof, made a present of this trophy of war to this corporation, whereof he at that time was one of the jurats."

Mr. James Thompson, as Overseer of Works, in 1775, was instructed to erect palisades at the avenues, which led into the city, where Prescott Gate was since erected; the object of these defences being to keep out Colonel Benedict Arnold, Brig-General Richard Montgomery, and all other marauders.

Palace Gate, though a pet gate for strangers, is doomed, we fear, as well as Hope Gate. ¹ It is to be hoped that St. John's Gate will be spared.

¹ Both were razed.

¹ "In the course of the demolition of the city gates it was to have been expected that corner stones or inscriptions, of historical value would have turned up somewhere, but the search has so far been productive of little result. At Hope Gate this spring, (1874) a stone with a plate and Latin inscription was found, supposed to contain a deposit of coins, &c. This was donated by the contractors to J. M. LeMoine, Esquire, who had it placed in the City Hall for inspection by the authorities, previous to its removal to his museum, at Spencer Grange. To-day the contractor Mr. Piton's men in breaking up the heavy old timbers doors of Palace Gate, found the following inscription between the inner blanks.

"These Gates were made in 1831 by William McKeown, Robert Milburn, William Prescott; W. Pariston, master carpenter; Wm. Mountain, Superintendent; This thing (the inscription?) by Wm. McKeown, of the County of Armagh, Ireland."—*Quebec Mercury*, 1874.)

In 1694, St. John's Gate was first raised in stone. Doubtless the old gate which escaped until 1865, exhibited in the following view, formed part of the Wellington Fortifications of 1823.—In 1865, it being quite too narrow for the purposes of traffic, it was razed and the present handsome Gate, with four openings, the design of which had been approved of by the English War Office, put up at a cost of \$40,000. All it now requires is a statue of the founder of the city, to crown this structure.



St. John Gate, demolished, 1865.

The modern style of warfare has of course rendered it necessary to adapt the defences of cities accordingly. The marvellous Point Levis casemates and Forts have restored Quebec, to the proud position it occupied thirty years ago; it is still, notwithstanding its changes, the Gibraltar of North America.

We are indebted to Col. T. B. Strange, Inspector of Dominion Artillery and Commandant of the Citadel, for the following extract from a paper, previously prepared by him, entitled "QUEBEC, THE GATE OF CANADA;" it contains reliable data about the Levis Forts.

"The trace of the three forts is not exactly similar, No. 1, is pentagonal and has a protected caponniere at the salient angle flanking the ditch of both faces, short caponnières at the east and west shoulders flank the short faces. The shoulders of the line of parapet give a direct fire over both the angle caponnières, while a fourth caponniere in the center of the rear face sweeps the ditch of the gorge.

"Nos. 2 and 3 are similar: a hexagon broken at the gorge by a ditch of bastion trace.

"The general quadrilateral trace of the escarp is broken by a double caponniere at the south-east angle flanking the ditches of those faces and one at the south-west angle to flank that face. The parapet above gives a direct fire over each angle caponniere.

"All three forts mutually support and flank each other their lines of fire, sweep the whole front and the interval between each fort, 1,800 yards. They are connected by a military road and covered way, which as well as the forts, can be taken in reverse from the citadel and rendered untenable.

"The forts were planned by the Royal Engineers, and commenced in 1865. No. 1 (the most easterly), was built by the military labor of the troops in garrison. It is the most solid and best constructed. Nos. 2 and 3 were built by contract by Messrs. Worthington, of Toronto, supervised by the Royal Engineers, Colonel Hamilton, R. E., being Commanding Royal Engineer at their completion, which was simultaneous with the withdrawal of the British troops in 1871.

COST OF CONSTRUCTION.

1 No. 1 Fort cost.....	£ 60,000	= \$300,000
2 " "	£ 57,896	= \$289,480
3 " "	£ 58,909	= \$294,545
Total.....	£176,805	= \$884,025

"The above cost does not include the price paid for the large extent of land necessary to ensure a clear glacis and front of fire.

"The actual enclosure of the forts only covers 8 English acres each, as well as the extensive and beautiful parklike encamping ground for the army corps, in rear of the line of works intended to keep an enemy from the south beyond bombarding distance of the good

¹ The cost of No. 1 Fort is only approximate. The cost of 2 and 3 is the actual cost taken from R. E. documents.—T. B. S.

citizens of the oft beleaguered city of Quebec. To complete the circle of defence, plans for detached earth works have been contemplated to keep at arms length an enemy advancing from the west after capturing the defenceless Montreal. They would extend from the St. Lawrence, near Wolfe's field to the St. Charles. If detailed plans were decided upon, the loyal and willing hands of a threatened population under professional military direction, would soon construct a few detached earth works behind which stout hearts could hold the gate of Canada during the short period in which military operations are alone possible to an enemy and which happily coincides with the season of relief from the mother country which in time of need would never desert her children."

UNIVERSITIES, COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS.

Laval University. ¹

In 1852 the Seminary obtained from Her Majesty a royal charter conferring upon this institution all the privileges enjoyed by the universities of England, and giving to the new university the name of the venerable founder of the Seminary, bishop Laval. This university has faculties of Law, Medecine, Arts and Theology. There are eighteen chairs in the Faculty of Medecine, seven in the Faculty of Law; the Faculties of Arts and Theology are not quite completely organized. The chairs in the Faculties of Law and Medecine are occupied by professors, chosen amongst eminent advocates, judges and Physicians of Quebec. Several of them have been sent to Europe to complete their studies in the french, belgian and german universities. All those professors are remunerated.

The University buildings are three in number they have been erected at a cost of \$238,788, on the extremity of the promontory, in the most commanding position in Quebec. The main edifice is 298 feet in length, 60 feet in width and 80 feet in height, five stories. It is a plain, massive structure of cut stone. The *Pensionnat* or boarding house for the pupils is another extensive edifice of the same appearance and on the same side of the street. The school of Medecine is on the opposite side and not so large. Their united length is 570 feet.

The principal building is occupied by the private rooms of the professors, the large rooms for the meeting of the University Council, the lecture rooms, the library, of 55,000 volumes, the museum containing

¹ As we write, the long-looked for news reaches that, the Laval University, by the recent award of His Holiness, the Pope, will have the field to herself in this Province and that Bishop Bourget's claim for Montreal is set aside. It is a pity this stately pile of the Quebec Seminary was not erected on that portion of the historic Plains of Abraham, belonging to the Revd. Gentlemen of the Seminary.

1000 instruments in the department of physics, 6000 specimens in the branch of mineralogy and geology, classified by professor T. Sterry Hunt; the botanical department a large and remarkable collection of Canadian woods, artificial fruit and 10,000 plants; zoology, over 1000 stuffed birds; about 100 quadrupeds, fishes, insects, &c.; mineralogy; *mummies* brought from Egypt by Dr. Jas. Douglas and many indian skulls and objects of curiosity. The cost of the library and of the museums is not included in the \$238,788 mentioned above. ¹

The Seminary own the University; they have the exclusive control of its financial administration. The council, composed of the oldest professors, has the direction of the institution; it is presided by the superior of the Seminary, who is *ex officio* rector of the University, the Roman Catholic archbishop of Quebec is *ex officio* visitor. Amongst the professors, there are protestants and catholics.

The *Panorama* enjoyed from the roof of the main edifice is said to be equal to that of the bay of Naples. Opposite Quebec, on the south shore of the St. Lawrence, is visible the town of Lévis, and further down, the village of St. Joseph de Lévis; to the north of this village, stretches the point of the Island of Orleans, presenting a very pleasing view. Between the island and the north shore of the St. Lawrence, the eye discovers a high mountain that seems to stretch across the river; it is Cape Tourmente, having its summit 1,800

Entrance.

1 St. Roch Suburbs, after Fire of 1845, view from the top of Côte-à-Coton, looking towards the east,—by JOS. LEGARÉ.

Falls of Niagara,—by “ “

The basin of parish of St. Anselme before the Church was built,—by Jos. LEGARÉ.

Falls of Niagara,—by JOS. LEGARÉ.

Falls of the Jacques Cartier river,—by JOS. LEGARÉ.

St. Roch Suburbs, after Fire of 1845, view taken from Côte-à-Coton, looking westward.

First Room.

Arrival of Jacques Cartier at Stadacona and possession taken of the country in the name of the French King,—by S. HAWKSETT.

Portrait of the historian abbé Ferland,—LIVERNOS.

“ of Dr. Jos. Morrin, founder of Morrin College,—THEOP. HAMEL.

Destruction by Fire of St. John's Suburbs, 28 June 1845,—JOS. LEGARÉ.

Portrait of the antiquarian, Abbé Plante,—by W. LAMPRECH.

Main Apartment.

Portrait, full size, of Pope Pius IX,—(Signed) PASQUALONI.

“ of Archbishop Taschereau,— “ “

“ of abbé L. J. Casault, founder of University,—THEOP. HAMEL.

“ of abbé Ed. Méthot, 3rd Rector of University,—EUGÈNE HAMEL.

“ of Bishop Horan, (Kingston) one of the founders of University, — THEOP. HAMEL.

Painting of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin,—(Signed) PASQUALONI.

Portrait of Cardinal Barnabo,—PASQUALONI.

above the level of the water. The row of white houses along the river is diversified by the glistening spires of the churches of Ste. Anne, Chateau Richer, L'Ange-Gardien and Beauport; the mouth of the Montmorency river is seen between the churches of Beauport and L'Ange-Gardien. To the north-west, rest the village of Charlesbourg and the Indian church of Lorette. Looking down the eye embraces in a glance St. Roch suburb, with its large church surmounted by two spires, and further west St. Sauveur, which is the extremity of the city in that direction. On the Cape, the Upper Town presents itself to the gaze of the visitor, whose eye discovers the two spires of the catholic church in St. John suburb and that of the Convent of the Good Shepherd, in Montcalm ward, and then takes in the citadel and the St. Lawrence again. It is impossible to describe the beauty of the view offered by the Island of Orleans, the mountains and the valley of the St. Charles, forming by its confluence with the St. Lawrence, the bay of Beauport.

From the roof, one can see in the Seminary garden the first land cleared by a regular settler in 1617, and below and under the entrance of the Seminary from the garden, the place where he built the first private dwelling erected in Canada, in 1619.

Amongst the latest additions to this flourishing University, may be noticed, a collection of coins and medals and a picture-gallery of which, the subjects are as follows :

- 1 Victoria, Queen of England,—by Jos. LEGARÉ.
- 2 George III, king of England,—by Jos. LEGARÉ.
- 3 Despair of an Indian woman in the forest,—by Jos. LEGARÉ.
- 4 Mountain Scenery, striking effect,—by T. DANIELL.
- 5 Portrait of Calvin,—by LEEMANS (CHS. PIERSON.)
- 6 Juno giving orders to Iris,—DANIEL MYTENS.
- 7 Portrait of Cardinal Trivulcius, Prince of Arragon—1643.
- 8 “ of a Maiden.
- 9 Rural Scenery.
On the long skirt.
- 10 Scenery—bridge,—river,—fall.
- 11 “
- 12 “ Shepherd and Flock.
- 13 “ Horses and Goats,—SALVATOR CASTIGLIONE.
- 14 Woman milking cows. Ruins,— “ “
- 15 Shepherd and Flock “
- 16 Mountains, bridge, river, waterfall.
- 17 Rural Scenery.
- 18 Mountains and ruins.

- 19 The Old Convent,—H. VARGASON.
- 20 Rural Scenery.
- 21 Tame Fowls.
- 22 " " "
- 23 " " "
- 24 " " "
- 25 Peaches and other fruits,—by ANDREA MONTICELLI.
- 26 Flowers and fruits.
- 27 " " by GRASDURP.
- 28 " " by JEAN BAPTISTE MONNYER.
- 29 Vase ornamented with flowers,—by S.-P. FIESNE?
- 30 Windmill by moonlight.
- 31 Old monastery, with river and herd of cattle.
- 32 Hermitage,—by H. VARGASON.
- 33 Marine,—by KARL VERNET?
- 34 " " ?
- 35 " Negroes quarrelling on the wharves,—by KARL VERNE
- 36 " Sea-port,—by JOS. VERNET.
- 37 Landscape—shewing river, bridge, buffaloes,—ANDREA LUCATEL
- 38 Ancient Monastery, grotto and lake.
- 39 Hunter and dog fight,—by ABRAHAM RADEMAKER.
- 40 Stag hunt,—by VAN MULLEN.
- 41 Gazelle "
- 42 Landscape.
- 43 " Card-playing on the ground,—by SALVATOR ROSA—
- 44 " Copper-plate,—by DAVID TENIERS.
- 45 " " "
- 46 Delivery scene.
- 47 Coriolanus disarmed by his mother.
- 48 Little basket, charming scenery.
- 49 Portrait.
- 50 "
- 51 The Poet Demetrius,—by BROWNZIG.
- 52 The Poet.
- 53 Butcher, baker and sailor,—by JOHN OPIE.
- 54 Serenading in the street of Rome.
- 55 Torch-light toilet,—by SCHALKEN.
- 56 Rural scenery, ruins,—by PETER VAN BLOEMEN.
- 57 Small farm.
- 58 "
- 59 Outside scene, lunch in a park,—by TENIERS?
- 60 Inside " " ?

- 61 Marine,—by JEAN LINGELBACK.
- 62 " " "
- 63 Battle.
- 64 Cavalry encounter—between Saxons and Romans,—JOS. PAROCEL.
- 65 " " Turks " "
- 66 Attending to a wounded soldier.
- 67 Woman returning from market.
- 68 Flute-player,—by JEAN MOLINAER.
- 69 Gleeeful bacchanalian,—by PALANÈDE (STAËVARST.)
- 70 Fair,—by MONNICKS.
- 71 Roman Antiquities,—by HUBERT ROBERT.
- 72 Golden calf,—by FRANK LE JEUNE.
- 73 Martyrdom of Ste. Catherine,—by FRANÇOIS CHAUVÉAU.
- 74 St. Michael triumphing over rebellious angels.
- 75 St. Jerome awaiting the sound of the last trumpet,—by D'ULIN 1717.
- 76 St. Michael vanquishing the Devil,—by SIMON VOUEZ.
- 77 Daughters of Jethro,—by GIOVANNI FRANCESCO ROMANELLI.
- 78 St. Jerome in the desert,—by CLAUDE VIGNON.
- 79 Elias throwing his mantle to Elisha,—by ALBER VAN OUWATER.
- 80 St. Elizabeth of Hungary.
- 81 Body of our Saviour returned to his mother,—by ANTOINE VAN DYCK.
- 82 Judith and Holophernes' head.
- 83 St. Louis Bertrand,—by PISANELLO VITTORE.
- 84 Our Saviour birth's announced to the shepherds,—by CORNELIUS POELENBURG.
- 85 Christ crowned with thorns,—by ARNOLD MYTENS.
- 86 Martyrdom of Robert Longer (1764),—by H. ALLIÈS.
- 87 " St. Stephen.
- 88 Death sentence,—by V. H. JANSSENS.
- 89 St. Bartholomew.
- 90 Wise men adoring,—by DON JUAN CARRENNO DE MIRANDA.
- 91 Inside of a Church,—by PIERRE NEEFS L'ANCIEN.
- 92 Presentation in the Temple,—by DOMINICO FETI.
- 93 Circumcision,—by " "
- 94 Mother of Sorrows.
- 95 St. John the Baptist.
- 96 St. Hilary,—by SALVATOR ROSA.
- 97 St. Jérôme commenting the Scriptures.
- 98 Portrait of a bishop.
- 99 SS. Peter and Paul.
- 100 Young women playing guitar,—by DAVID TÉNIERS.

- 101 A monk at study.
- 102 A head,—by STOPIEBEEN.
- 103 A franciscan Monk praying by torch light.
- 104 Ecce Homo.
- 105 God the Father surrounded by Angels,—N. Poussin.
- 106 St. Jean the Evangelist.
- 107 St. Mary Magdalen,—by LOUIS-ANTOINE DAVID.
- 108 Birth of Our Saviour,—by ANTOINE COYPEL.
- 109 St. Bruno and his disciple,—by LESUEUR.
- 110 St. Ignatius of Loyola,—by P. LAURIE.
- 111 Disciples of Emmaus,—by PAUL BRIL.
- 112 St. Peter's denial.
- 113 Cardinal P. H. Van Steeland after his death.
- 114 St. John the Baptist's head.
- 115 St. Peter by torch light.
- 116 Adoration of Magi,—by DON JUAN CARRENNO DE MIRANDA.
- 117 St. Peter and the broken vase.
- 118 Blessed Virgin and infant in cradle.
- 119 Mater Dolorosa.
- 120 Faint outline of the features of a Saint.
- 121 Moses,—by LANFRANC.
- 122 Shepherds adoring,—by MIGNARD.
- 123 Mater Dolorosa.
- 124 Ecce Homo.
- 125 Aged monk studying by torch light.
- 126 Birth of Our Saviour,—by LORENZO GRAMICCIA?
- 127 School of Athens,—(from Raphael) by PH. PONT ANT. ROBERT.
- 128 Burning of the Bourg. “ “
- 129 Holy Family and St. John Baptist,—by GRAMICCIA.
- 130 St. Joseph and the Infant Jesus.
- 131 Martyrdom of Pope St. Vigil,—by L. W. BAUMGARTNER.
- 132 St. Ambrose and Theodosius,—by F. SIGRISO.
- 133 Jesus on the Cross,—by LOUIS CARRACHE.
- 134 Aged monk meditating.
- 135 Fall of Simon the magician,—by SÉBASTIEN BOURDON.
- 136 Religion and Time (allegorical.)
- 137 David gazing at the head of Goliath,—PIERRE PUGET?
- 138 The Eight Felicities,—J. CORNEIL J?
- 139 The Coronation of the Virgin,—by GIACOMO TINTORETTO.
- 140 The Child Jesus blessing.
- 141 Battle between Indians,—by JOS. LEGARÁ.
- 142 St. Jerome.

- 143 Ecce Homo.
 144 Louis XIV,—by QUENTIN DE LATOUR.
 145 Marie Liezinska, Queen-consort of Louis XV,—F. BOUCHER.
 147 Marie-Joseph de Saxe, Dauphine, mother of Louis XIV,—by F. BOUCHER.
 148 Madame Victoire, fille de Louis XIV,—by F. BOUCHER.
 149 Madame Adelaïde, “ “ “ “ “
 150 Madame Louise, “ “ “ Carmelite,—by F. BOUCHER.
 151 Jesus meeting Ste. Veronique,—by LUIS DE VARGAS.
 152 Portrait of Josephte Ourné, aged 25, daughter of an Abenakis Chief,—by JOS. LEGARÉ.
 153 The Virgin and Child Jesus.
 154 Head of St. Nicholas.
 155 Bearing the Cross.
 156 Ascension of Our Lord.
 157 Assumption of the Holy Virgin.

The Seminary of Quebec.

Was founded by Monseigneur de Laval Montmorency, first Roman Catholic bishop of Quebec and of Canada, in the year 1663. It was at the first exclusively intended for the instruction of the young men destined to become priests. It was called, *le Séminaire des Missions Étrangères*, but after the closing of the Jesuits College in 1764, on account of the order being suppressed by the Pope, the classes of the Seminary of Quebec were indiscriminately opened to all the young men wishing to complete a classical course of studies.

From the year 1668 the Minor Seminary was opened, in the house belonging to Madame Couillard. The foundations of this building were exposed to view about 1866: they are situated at the entrance to the garden.

This institution comprises the *Grand Séminaire* and the *Petit Séminaire*; the first is for students in divinity and the other for the young men studying literature, philosophy and all the matters included in a first class classical course. The number of pupils attending the classes of the *Petit Séminaire*, the only catholic institution of the kind in Quebec, is generally over 400. Some board at the Seminary and others in their families. For the boarders the price of boarding and tuition for the year is \$100. Eighty of them only pay half this price, the other half being covered by the rent of houses and other properties given for that purpose by some members of the catholic clergy. The non-boarders pay \$1.25 a month for tuition when their

parents are rich enough, while poor children are not required to pay a single cent.

The buildings of the Seminary form four wings four stories high, 684 feet long and 42 wide except the old central wing which is only 36 feet in width. This central wing is nearly 200 years old, since it was built by bishop Laval : there is still to be seen the place where his servants cooked the bread for the use of the institution. The building is composed of four large wings.

The authority of the corporation of the Seminary is vested in a council presided by the superior, actually the Revd. Thos. E. Hamel, and appointed by the priests, directors of the institution. The priests are divided into *agrégés* and *auxiliaires*. The *agrégés* are the real members of the corporation ; to the advancement of which they devote themselves for no other consideration than their boarding, clothing and lodging, with a sum of \$20 a year for their amusement and personal expenses. The *auxiliaires* are not members of the corporation, but temporarily employed by it, at a salary of \$100 a year, with clothing, boarding and lodging, of course.

The personal staff of the Seminary,—that is to say, all those living in this institution, servants as well as the body of directors, teachers, ecclesiastics in minor orders, and pupils, in 1704, was only 54 ; in 1750, the same number ; in 1810, the number was 110 ; and in 1870, the total is 429, not including the Laval University.

“ The Seminary has large revenues accruing from *seigniories* and landed properties bestowed unto it by bishop Laval,¹ and by many members of the clergy and other persons zealous to do something for the advancement of education.

“ To the american tourists, the Seminary offers same remembrances of a national character, for its having been the place of confinement of the american officers taken prisoners during the siege of the city by Arnold and Montgomery in 1775. Besides that, the only part worth seeing is the chapel, well-known for its collection of fine and original

¹ The different donations made to the Quebec Seminary by Mgr. de Laval were as follows :

1. The seigniories of *Beaupré* and *Isle Jésus*.
2. The fief *Sault-au-Matelot*, situated in the city of Quebec.
3. A house at Château-Richer, and the seignior of *Petite-Nation*, near Montreal.
4. All the furniture, book, ornaments, and arrears of rents due to the Bishop, belonging to him at the date of his decease, May 6th, 1708.

All the property, real as well as personal, given and bequeathed by Mgr. de Laval to the Quebec Seminary, had been acquired with the family wealth of that prelate. It is proper to bear in mind, that Mgr. de Laval was allied to the royal family of France.

Monseigneur de Laval imposed but two obligations on the Quebec Seminary :

1. To maintain the foundation of the Grand and the Minor Seminary ;
2. To give gratuitously board and education to twelve poor boys.

paintings by the masters of the french school. The entrance to this chapel is through that of the Seminary, where a door keeper receives the visitors and accompanies them to the chapel containing the paintings indicated below and enumerated in order, pursuing the survey on the right hand, from the entrance :

I. *The Saviour and the Woman of Samaria at Jacob's Well, near Sychar.* St. John, iv,—by LAGRENÉE

II. *The Virgin ministered unto by the Angels, who are represented as preparing the linen clothes for the child Jesus,*—by DIEU.

III. In the lateral chapel on the right, a large figure of the Saviour on the cross, at the precise moment described by the Evangelist. St. John, xix, 30,—by MONEY.

IV. At the entrance,—*The Egyptian Hermits, in the solitude of Thebais,*—by GUILLOT.

V. In the chancel.—*The Terror of St. Jerome, at the recollection of a vision of the day of Judgment,*—by D'HOLLIN. (Copy).

VI. *The Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ,*—by P. CHAMPAGNE.

VII. *The Saviour's sepulchre and interment,*—by HUTIN.

VIII. Above the altar,—*The Flight of Joseph to Egypt.* St. Matthew, by VANLOO.

Immediately above is a small oval picture delineating two Angels,—by LEBRUN.

IX. *The Trance of St. Anthony, on beholding the Child Jesus,*—by PARROCEL d'AVIGNON.

X. *The Day of Pentecost.* Acts ii,—by PH. CHAMPAGNE.

XI. *St. Peter's deliverance from prison.* Acts xii,—by DE LA FOSSE.

XII. At the entrance of the lateral chapel on the left,—another view of the *Hermits of Thebais,*—by GUILLOT.

XIII. In the rear,—*The Baptism of Christ.* St. Matthew, iii,—by CLAUDE GUY HALLÉ.

XIV. *St. Jerome writing,*—by J. B. CHAMPAGNE.

XV. *The Wise Men of the East adoring the Saviour.* St. Matthew, ii,—by BOUNIEU.

The shrine on the right of the chief altar contains the *Relics of St. Clement* ; that, on the left, the *Relics of St. Modestus.*

This chapel was erected about a century ago.

Morrin College.

Was founded some twelve years ago. Dr. Morrin having left \$80,000 to endow such an institution, this sum was applied to the establishment of the present college. Actually, the Faculties of Law and Medicine, though organised and provided with professors,

are not in operation and there are no lectures given. In the Faculty of Divinity, lectures are regularly given by Revd. John Cook, D. D. In other branches, the professors are Revd. John Cook, professor of Moral Philosophy, Logic and English Literature; Revd. A. McQuairre, M. A., Mathematics; Revd. Geo. Wejr, M. A., Classics and professor of Hebrew; Revd. J. Douglas, Chemistry; Revd. John Cook is principal; the late D. Wilkie, was secretary-treasurer of the institution.

Till those last years, the lectures were given in the rooms of the Masonic Hall; but when the government gave up the City Jail, the governors of Morrin College bought and repaired it for the installation of their college. It was erected, in 1810, by the provincial legislature at a cost of \$60,000. Situated between the top of St. Stanislas and St. Angele streets, with the front towards the former.

The rooms of the Morrin College contain some other objects of interest.

The north wing of the building was leased for the library and extensive museum of the *Quebec Literary and Historical Society*. The museum comprises a valuable selection of Canadian birds; an extensive zoological collection; historical medals, rare old coins, &c.

High School.

The high School of Quebec owes its origin to the Reverend Dr. Cook, of St. Andrew's Church, who has taken a warm and active interest in whatever could conduce to its efficiency and success. It was established in 1842 and incorporated in 1845. It belongs to shareholders, amongst whom are annually chosen fifteen trustees who have the control of the institution, which is non-sectarian; the trustees receive no pecuniary benefit to fulfil that position. The professors are, Messrs. Miller, Elliot and Cuisset; their classes are attended by about one hundred boys, who contribute about \$2,400 towards the maintaining of the institution, which receives a grant from the Province. The late D. Wilkie, M. A., was for years the esteemed rector and treasurer, and W. Walker, Esq., the secretary of the institution.

The building of the High School is a gothic structure of grey granite, 42 feet long by 30 broad, situated on St. Denis street, on the Cape, facing the Glacis and the citadel. It was erected in 1865, at a cost of \$15,000.

Laval Normal School.

This school is maintained at the cost of the Provincial Legislature; it is intended for the instruction of young men and young girls

wishing to become school teachers. A common school is attached to both departments.

The classes of the young men's department are held in St. Lewis Castle, at Durham Terrace, near the spot where Champlain erected the first structure to which he gave that name, in 1620. It is 102 feet in length, 41 in breadth and two stories high, with one wing 31 by 32 feet, two stories high, and another wing 62 by 23 feet, also two stories in height, massive and plain, without the least appearance of architectural ornamentation. In rear, is the *Jardin du Fort*, a garden, commanding a fine view of the harbour ; the lower part of it is used by the pupils.

The staff of this institution is composed as follows :—Revd. P. Lagacé, principal ; F. X. Toussaint, N. Lacasse, J. Létourneau, G. Gagnon, F. X. R. Saucier, P. M. A. Genest, professors of Normal School ; J. B. Cloutier and D. M. Sweeney, teachers of Normal and Model School. The female department is held in the Ursuline Convent.

Ursuline Convent.

This Convent founded in 1639 by Madame de la Peltre, is one of the most ancient in Canada. Built at first in 1641, it was destroyed by fire in 1650 ; rebuilt, it met with a similar fate in 1686. The foundations of that of 1641, and the walls of that of 1650 being used, a third structure was erected after that fire, and is still to be seen in rear of the modern wing facing Garden and Parloir streets. The convent buildings, a pile of massive edifices of stone two and three stories high, are erected on ground covering an area of seven acres, surrounded by St. Lewis, St. Ursule, Ste. Anne and Garden streets.

The *entrance* to the convent faces the end of Parloir street. The chapel, 95 feet long and 45 broad, is on Garden street. It is quite plain outside, but the interior is pleasing, though simple. On the right side of the principal altar, is seen a large grating which separates the church from the choir in which the nuns attend divine service. As they are cloistered, they never come out of their cloister, and hence the objet of that grating. No man, not even the chaplain, is allowed to enter the cloister ;—to this rule there is an exception in favor of Their Excellencies, the Governors, and the members of the Royal Family who are permitted to visit the cloister.

The Ursulines impart an excellent education.

They receive pupils of all creeds. Some of the scholars are boarders in the institution and others only day scholars. Besides the regular classes of the convent, there is the Laval Model School for girls and a

free school, which is attended by a great number of children. The number of the nuns and novices is about ninety; that of the pupils-boarders 245, day scholars 125 and those frequenting the free school about 300, making in all 670 pupils. The resources of the institution are the fees exacted from pupils whose parents can pay them; and the revenue accruing from landed properties, bestowed upon the convent by Madame de la Peltrie and some other charitable persons.

"In the City: 1. Their Convent and garden in which it is situated.

2. Nine houses, from which they (1874), derive a rental of \$4,530.

Beyond the City: The fief of St. Ann, situated in the seigniorie of Lauzon, and a farm of 8 *arpents* in extent, situated in the same seigniorie;—The fief of St. Joseph, in the *banlieue*, and the seigniorie of Ste. Croix;—Finally, a piece of land of 40 *arpents* in superficies, on the bank of the river St. Charles, in the *banlieue* of Quebec.

The village of Ste. Angèle is built on this last named property.

This piece of land was a gift from the Government of France to the Ursulines,—the only endowment it ever received from that government, while from the other civil institutions of this country, it has received nothing."—(H. Larue.)

The objects of interest in this convent are the paintings and monuments in the chapel. The following is a list of those paintings and monuments enumerated in order, commencing the survey to the right from the door:—

1.—*Jesus sitting down at meal in Simon's House*,—*Mary Magdalena*,—by Philippe de Champagne (french school.)

2. *Death of St. Jerome*, (italian school) from the Dominichino.

3. *The Guardian Angel*.

4. *Bishop St. Nonus admitting to penance Ste. Pélagie*,—by J. Prudhomme (1737, french school).

5. Montcalm's Monument, placed there by Lord Aylmer, then Governor of Canada, in 1832.

6. *The Miraculous draught of fishes*,—by de Dieu (french school, 1741).

7. A monument in white marble, erected to the three daughters of the Honorable P. J. O. Chauveau, ex-president of the Canadian Senate. This monument was carved by Marshall Wood, the celebrated english statuary.

8. Monument erected to the family of the Honorable H. L. Langevin, C. B., ex-minister of Public Works in the Dominion Government and brother to the right reverend Jean Langevin, bishop of Rimouski. This marble was carved by an artist of Ottawa.

9. Monument in honor of Montcalm, erected the 14th September, 1859. The words are those composed by the French Academy in 1763. The marble is from the United States; the engraver Mr. Morgan, of Quebec.

10. *The Wise and the Foolish Virgins*, (italian school of Florence).

11. *The Virgin, the Infant and St. Catherine, virgin and martyr*.

12. *The Annunciation*, sculpture on the two doors near the altar.

13. *The Birth of Christ, the Shepherds*,—above the altar, by Vigneau (french school).

14. *The Saviour preaching*, by Champagne (french school).

15. *The Saviour exhibiting his heart to Religiouses*.

16. *The true portrait of the Saviour*, according to St. Luke.

17. *The Virgin and Infant*, above the pulpit.

18. *Redemption of captives at Algiers*, by the R.v. Fathers of Mercy, by Restout (french school).

19. *France offering religion to the Indians of Canada*, an allegory.

20. *St. Peter concealing himself to witness the sufferings of Christ* (spanish school.)

Those paintings were for the most part bought in France in 1815. The present church in which they are to be seen was built in 1728; it is consequently one hundred and forty-eight years old.

Within the precincts of this chapel, lie buried the remains of General Montcalm, who was mortally wounded at the battle of Abraham Plains, 13th September, 1759. A marble slab placed on the wall by Lord Aylmer, in 1832, contains the following inscription:

(Translation.)	
HONNEUR	HONOUR
à	to
MONTCALM!	MONTCALM!
LE DESTIN EN LUI DÉROBANT	FATE IN DEPRIVING HIM
LA VICTOIRE,	OF VICTORY
L'a récompensé par	Rewarded him by
UNE MORT GLORIEUSE!	A GLORIOUS DEATH!

In 1833, it being necessary to repair the wall, an aged nun, sister Dubé, who had as a child attended the funeral, pointed out the grave of Montcalm. The skeleton was found and the skull placed in custody of the Chaplain. There is also a painting which represents Quebec, as it was in 1641.

Fraser's Highlanders were stationed in this convent during the winter of 1759, following the capture of Quebec, and the table on which the first sentence of death was rendered by the british authorities against a woman (Madame Dodier?) for poisoning her husband is still to be seen in the rear part of the convent.

Convent of the Congregation.

This convent, situated in St. Roch's parish, opposite the church, was established in 1843. The cost of building was in great part assumed by the Revd. Mr. Charest, curate of St. Roch's who subscribed \$32,000 in favour of this and other educational houses in the parish.

The institution is directed by about twenty-six nuns and novices who educate on an average 300 boarding and 800 day pupils. This convent has a branch at St. Sauveur, with nine sisters and 500 pupils. Out of these 1,300 day pupils, 1000 are educated gratis, 30 pay 20 cents a month, 170 pay ten cents and one hundred five cents. The convent receives yearly \$100 from the provincial government and \$500 from the municipality of St. Sauveur.

Bellevue Convent.

A branch establishment of the ancient and flourishing *Congregation de Notre-Dame de Montréal*, founded in that city by Sœur Bourgeoys, 1659, stands on an eminence, about two and a half miles from Quebec, facing the picturesque valley of the St. Charles. It is a magnificent fire brick, four storied building with attics, designed by Mr. Bourgeault, a Montreal architect, in 1872, with a front of 180 feet, and a center wing in rear, of 70 feet, containing a remarkably handsome chapel two stories high. Two outer wings in rear of 90 feet in length will be shortly added. This stately pile, opened in 1874, is erected on the late James Gibb's rustic homestead at Ste. Foye: a lot of ground of eighty acres in extent, extremely well wooded. The old mansion to the east still subsists, where the religious ladies held their classes in 1867, prior to building the present convent. Amongst some of the modern improvements introduced here, is an expensive and very efficient hot water system of heating the rooms. It is intended this convent shall be in every respect equal to the sister establishment in Montreal, at Moncklands (Villa-Maria). The staff of teachers is selected among 600 *religieuses* of the order. Fresh air, leafy groves, delightful croquet grounds, gravelled avenues in summer, well cultivated gardens, must necessarily enhance the attractions of this seat of instruction for young ladies of every nationality. The almoner is the Rev. Louis H. Paquet, D. D., one of the esteemed professors of Laval University. The Bellevue convent is one of the seventy educational houses which in America, have sprung from Sister Bourgeoys, foundation, in 1659.

Convent of the Good Shepherd.

The ladies conducting this institution have classes attended by five hundred pupils, the greater part paying nothing or next to nothing. The principal objects of these nuns, whose institution was established in 1850, is to convert and relieve in their asylum, Magdalens and to give instruction to young girls. It was founded by means of donations and subscriptions of charitable persons. The nuns are about seventy-five in number and the novices, twenty, including those employed as teachers in eight establishments, all situated in the country. Besides the 500 girls to whom they impart education, they have about one hundred Magdalens and thirty young girls in their reformatory. The Government grant per head of the latter is \$5.50 a month, and that from the school commissioners, \$800 a year. These sums are far from meeting the expenses of the establishment, which exceed \$17,000, so that the balance is raised by subscriptions amongst charitable persons and by the sale of ornamental work made by the nuns and their pupils and *penitentes*.

This convent is situated in Montcalm ward, Lachevrotière street. It is a large stone building surmounted by the high steeple of the church attached to the establishment.

Convent of the Sisters of Charity.

This is another Roman Catholic educational and charitable institution. The sisters receive orphans and infirm persons, which is their first object, and keep classes in which are educated over 700 girls, more than half gratis and the rest for ten cents a month. The number of infirm and orphans varies from 175 to 200. Whenever a chance occurs, the sisters place those orphans in respectable families.

This convent, a massive stone building, situated in St. Olivier street (the church entrance is on Richelieu street), near the Glacis and St. John's Gate, was established by His Grace Archbishop Turgeon, who raised the necessary funds from charitable persons through his diocese. The nuns have no means of their own, except their work and small grants from the Government and the school trustees. To cover the expense from \$6,000 to \$7,000 are besides furnished, every year, by public charity.

It became the prey of flames in 1860, when Parliament had rented it for its sittings; it has however been rebuilt on a larger scale. In the month of June, 1869, the church attached to it, was burnt down to the ground and rebuilt over again.

Academy of Jésus-Marie.

High above the umbrageous groves of *Sous-les-Bois*, for many years the attractive Villa of Errol Boyd Lindsay, Esq., looms out the majestic Academy of Jesus-Marie, an institution for the education of young ladies. It is owned and conducted by the french nuns, of Jesus-Marie, well known for the excellence of their teaching. The system followed in that convent is that of father Lacordaire, which is well suited to develop the reasoning and judgment of the pupils who are not required to learn anything by memory, but exclusively by analysis. All the subjects comprised in a classical course of studies, are taught in this Convent.

As to sanitary arrangements, this academy is one of the best institutions in Quebec. Ventilation and airing in every room is perfect, and the place where the convent is situated is one of the healthiest around the city. The ground occupies an area of several acres and is ornamented with trees, walks and gardens, giving a rural appearance to the place and a great deal of comfort and amusement to the pupils.

This convent is about three miles from Quebec, on St. Lewis road, to the north of the parish church of St. Colomban of Sillery. It is a large white brick building, roomy and built with all the modern improvements, under the direction of Rev. Mr. Audette, member of the Board of Arts and Manufactures. From the roof of the building, one may enjoy one of the grandest views of Quebec, the Plains of Abraham, the St. Lawrence and the surrounding country.

HOSPITALS AND ASYLUMS.

The Hôtel-Dieu.

The oldest institution of the kind in North America, it was established in 1639 by the duchess d'Aiguillon, who came from France with three nuns of the *Hospitalières* order from Dieppe. The object of this hospital is the reception and care of the sick who are indigent and distressed. All proper attendance both by the nuns and physicians, with every necessary comfort, is gratuitously administered. The annual expenditure is considerable and although the revenues are ample, yet from the munificence of the relief which is afforded to numerous poor persons, the provincial parliament is

obliged to contribute to the maintenance of the institution by a small grant from the public treasury amounting to \$640 a year.

In the convent the sisterhood reside, who now include the Superior, and thirty-three nuns and some novices. The regularity, neatness and comfort, with which the establishment is conducted and the solace of the infirm who find refuge under this hospitable roof, is deserving of all praise.

The Hôtel-Dieu, of which the entrance is on Palace street, is a spacious building, the largest portion extending nearly one hundred and thirty feet by seventeen in depth, and three stories high. A wing on the northwest side is two stories high, fifty yards in height and as many feet broad. The church is externally plain and the interior, little adorned, with an entrance on Charlevoix street. The paintings may be examined on application to the Chaplain. The following are originals: the *Nativity of Christ* Luke II, by STELLA the *Virgin and Child* by COPPEL; the *Vision of Ste. Thérèse* by MENAGEAT and *St. Bruno wrapt in Meditation* by LESUEUR. An important relic of the Martyr Brebœuf of 1649, is shown.

The ground occupied by this convent has an area of about twelve acres. Governor Lauson laid the corner stone of the building included in the present enlarged edifices, on the 15th October 1654. The Duchess d'Aiguillon, and her uncle, the famous Cardinal de Richelieu, endowed this institution with an annual rent of 1,500 livres, first; and afterwards doubled this grant. It is by means of this rent and that of other donations that the nuns are enabled to carry on their establishment.

The ground on which the *Hotel-Dieu* is situated was conceded to the duchess d'Aiguillon by the Company of the Hundred-Associates.

The resources of the *Hotel-Dieu*.

1. In the city: twelve houses.

2. Beyond the city: their farm at St Sauveur—their interest in the lease-hold property of St. John Suburbs; their concession of the St. Valier Suburbs; a small farm at the Canardière; and the two *Isles-aux-Oies*.

All these properties, excepting the donations of the duchess d'Aiguillon, were acquired with the proceeds accruing from the savings of the nuns of the *Hotel-Dieu*, and by means of the dower brought to the house by each nun. (\$400) The French Government, no more than the English Government, never gave the house any land.

The number of beds in the hospital is 80,—of which 70 at least are occupied daily. It will be seen that not less than 70 sick persons receive each day, from the nuns of the *Hotel-Dieu*, the nourishment, care, and medicines, &c., necessary to their condition.

Total expenditure for the sick, in each year, an average : of \$5,000. This sum, as well as that required for the maintenance of 55 nuns who reside in the house, and six serving men employed in the ruder labours of the institution, are all defrayed from the revenues of the *Hôtel-Dieu*, with the exception of \$640 allowed annually by Government. These numerous sick receive no other help.

The Hospital of the Sacred Heart.

Here is quite a modern institution, founded in 1873, by the present archbishop of Quebec, Mgr. Taschereau. The building, a plain cut stone edifice, three stories high, was completed last fall, and the hospital immediately opened for the reception of foundlings and persons attacked by loathsome or contagious diseases; such is the object of this hospital. The nuns in charge of this convent were taken from the General Hospital. The Hospital of the Sacred Heart is situated on the St. Charles, behind St. Sauveur, not far from the road to Lorette. It is well worth a visit from persons taking interest in such institutions.

The General Hospital.

The establishment thus denominated is situated in the St. Sauveur Municipality, on the banks of the St. Charles, and was commenced in the year 1693, by the second Roman Catholic bishop of Quebec, Mgr. de St. Vallier, who instituted it expressly to relieve invalids and persons afflicted by disease. It is a spacious and comparatively fine structure : a parallelogram of nearly equal sides, seventy-six yards in length and eleven yards deep ; on the south-west, a wing projects more than forty yards by fifty feet broad. Attached to the convent is a neat and convenient church ; it contains nothing peculiarly distinctive in character, except its ornaments. The paintings are copies of the originals in the other churches and chapels. For the building, furniture, &c., of this hospital, bishop de St. Vallier expended 100,000 crowns. The institution was endowed by grants of landed properties which are, with the labour of the nuns and a yearly appropriation from the Government, the only resources of the establishment. To superintend the convent, there are a superior and seventy nuns ; it is a cloistered convent. The number of sick and old persons received in the institution, at the present date (1874), is 158, of which number 143 are French Canadians, 12 Irish, 2 French and 1 German.

“ The Government helps this asylum to the extent of \$1,876 an-

nually; being the provision made by the State for boarding and keeping 18 invalids, at \$67 each.

The institution provides from its own revenues for the keeping, &c. of 130 others, besides the maintenance and wants of 60 Sisters who live in the house." (H. Larue.)

American tourists should not forget that Colonel Arnold, commanding with Montgomery the New England troops besieging Quebec, in 1775, was carried to that General Hospital, after he was wounded, in the attack upon the Sault-au-Matelot barrier, on the morning of the 31st December, where, if pursued, he intended to fight to the last.

St. Bridget's Asylum.

"In 1856, the charitably disposed of the congregation of St. Patrick's Church originated a home for orphan and deserted children and the infirm and destitute of their Church; the building was located in St. Stanislas street, nearly opposite St. Patrick's. The establishment in the city was discovered to be inadequate for their wants, and the Rev. Father McGauran, purchased the site upon which the present building stands for \$4,000; it was removed to the premises on the St. Louis road, about ten minutes' walk from the city walls. This, too, in time became too small, and finally the present handsome edifice was erected, at a cost of \$24,000. There are two entrances, one on the St. Lewis road, and the other on DeSalaberry street. When we called, some children were learning catechism, and others, whose age was too tender for even such simple studies, were sleeping, after dinner. They numbered 26, all told, and their clean and healthy features, cheerful alacrity and obedience were evident proofs of the kindness with which they were treated. Some of these poor, helpless waifs had been taken from their parents, who were serving divers terms of imprisonment. Noble indeed and deserving of all praise is that charity which will not allow of the sins of the parents being visited upon the children, so far as it can be prevented by taking them from the only shelter the law provides for the infant-offspring of felons—the county gaol. Up the next story, a very different scene presented itself; instead of the rosy faces, smiling lips and innocence of early childhood to be seen below, here were aged women, some of them wondrously old, whose shrivelled features, immobile look, trembling hands and rambling talk proclaimed a second childhood more touching and pitiful than we can express. Memory and strength had almost deserted them. Life's spark flickered ever so faintly, the blood flowed but sluggishly and coldly, yet withal God had decreed that they must live their allotted time, and it is the duty of the benevolent to see that

the infirm ancients, whom the sickle of time has not yet mowed down, should spend the last hours,—months or years, of their existence in as much comfort as can be provided for them. Their dormitory was very large, there being no less than 15 beds, each divided from the other by hangings, so that to all intents and purposes, a small room is partitioned off for each one, containing bed, chair, cupboard, &c., around each compartment was a strip of warm carpet, and large stoves in winter, made the atmosphere agreeable. The Chapel rises from the ground to the roof of the building, and is consequently lighted by two rows of windows. A neat altar surrounded by mahogany railings and carpeted, stands in the centre; a few flowers, silver candlesticks, crucifix, and picture of the Virgin ornament and relieve the too brilliant whiteness of the walls. On the ground floor facing the road on the left hand side, is the dining room laid out in the same grandiose proportions as the other apartments. The internal management of both the women and children is wholly in the hands of the matron, a cook and outside man alone assisting her in this arduous work. The association until 1870, was managed by an Executive Council of eighteen members, who were elected annually. It was then altered and five trustees were appointed, the Pastor of St. Patrick's, also acting *ex-officio*. For the last two years, the St. Patrick's Ladies Charitable Society have had the supervision of the internal arrangements of the institution. The sources of revenue are variously derived from subscriptions, donations, bequests and an annual grant of about \$700 from the Government, but principally from Bazaars held by the ladies of St. Patrick's Church. The average annual expenditure for the support and maintenance of the Asylum, is from \$2,400 to \$2,800. An endowment fund has also been commenced, and owing to the handsome donation of the Provident Savings' Bank of Quebec, who gave them \$12,025, it is on a pretty firm footing. ¹ Since the opening of this establishment, the large number of two hundred and seventy-one old

¹ In the early part of 1846, Father Nelligan collected some seventy or eighty dollars, (I think amongst the regiments then in garrison,) and with this sum in hand, induced the Committee of St. Patrick's Church to purchase a house in St. Helen street for the purposes of the Asylum. Father Nelligan left the parish that autumn and handed over the above cash to his successor, Rev. Father McGauran. Some short time after the induction of the latter, some members of the St. Vincent de Paul Society waited on him to carry on the good work of the Asylum, to which he consented, and the Association was then formed; certainly up to the moment of his incumbency of St. Patrick's Church, the Asylum invariably had his heartiest support; it stands to-day, an imperishable monument to his zeal.

Through the generous co-operation of the congregation and citizens—amongst whom, I am happy to say, our Protestant neighbours were not the least prominent, he had left the Association in possession of a property which cost some seventy odd thousand dollars without a cent of debt, besides the support of the institution for the past eighteen years—an item of some forty thousand dollars—as well as a very handsome sum of money in hand. The act of Incorporation, obtained either in 1857 or 1858, was under Father McGauran's administration.

("A member.")

women had been housed and clothed and comfortably fed for long terms of years, and 451 orphan and deserted children rescued from poverty and crime, educated and situations obtained for them. With such figures as these to testify to the usefulness of the work, we hope that they may act as incentives to have the rest of the establishment put into immediate condition to receive a further supply of inmates. Divine service is held Thursdays and Sundays with Mass and instruction. The following is the list of names of the existing Committee of the institution:—Rev. M. S. Burke, President; Hon. Charles Alleyn, Hon. Thos. McGreevy, Wm. Quinn, Esq., and John Lane, Esq. junr., members—Secretary, Morris O'Leary, Esq." (1874).

Finlay Asylum.

"Some years ago, a Miss Finlay bequeathed a sum of \$800 to be applied towards the relief of the poor in whatever the Lord Bishop of Quebec would deem most advisable. Dr. Mountain, who was the Bishop of Quebec, at the time expended this money in purchasing a cottage which stood in a neat garden, at the foot of Sutherland street, to be used as a home for aged and infirm poor persons. In 1861, a sum of a \$2,000 was handed by another lady to the Bishop with the request that his Lordship would employ it in extending the usefulness of this home for aged and infirm persons, known as the Finlay Asylum. The Bishop after taking advice decided to apply to the members of the Church generally, in Quebec to unite in the erection of a large and commodious building in which the aged might find a house and the sick poor, medical care and suitable attendance. After the plans of the building had been adopted and its construction commenced, it was ascertained that Mr. Jeffery Hale, had left a considerable sum of money to create a Hospital for the relief of the Protestant sick.

The sick wards contemplated in the Finlay Asylum were on that, abandoned and the interior arrangements were adapted to suit the requirements of two other Church of England Institutions whose managers offered to pay a certain rent for accommodation in the new building. Accordingly in 1861, on the fiftieth anniversary of Bishop Mountain's admission into Holy Orders, the building was solemnly taken possession of, with an appropriate office of Prayers and Hymns and reading of Holy Scripture. The occasion was honored by the presence of Bishop Williams, then Assistant Bishop of Connecticut, his Chaplain the Rev. Dr. D. E. Kowen and a large assemblage of Church people. The Central part of the building was occupied by the aged men and women; and the west wing by the Female and Orphan Asylum until 1873, when the Military Asylum building on the Grande Allée,

was purchased for the future Home of Orphan girls. The Orphan boys still continue to occupy the east wing of the Finlay Asylum.

The building is a striking gothic structure very generally admired by the residents, as well as by strangers visiting Quebec. It stands on the St. Foye road, not far from the toll gate. It is just beyond the City limits. The building was designed by Messrs. Kemp & Fraser, architects of the Government Buildings at Ottawa, and was erected by Mr. Archer, builder of this city, at a cost of \$14,000.

The system adopted in this asylum is preferable to that which we have seen in others, of collecting so many old people in one room, where they are forced to witness the gradual decay, the daily sufferings and the final death-bed scenes, which could be spared them were the wards, as in the Finlay, made smaller. They hold at the most six men, and when they become very old and infirm, they are removed into rooms containing three or even two. In one double room was a grey-haired man worn and stooping, and almost decrepid, reading aloud, from the Sacred Volume, the everlasting truths of salvation to a comrade as old as himself, but sick and confined to bed: his good old face, however, was suffused with a calm and holy joy that showed too plainly the satisfaction he derived from the words that came with difficulty from the quavering voice of his kind friend. There are at the present time 21 men and 8 women in the asylum. The women are accommodated in a separate part of the building, and are divided into parties of three and more. Most of them are able to rise daily and dress themselves, but both sexes are allowed to lay down, walk or sit just when and how, it best suits their weakened frames.

The Chapel is in the centre of the building with four rooms opening off from it, so that very infirm persons and those who are actually confined to bed, are enabled to join in the service without, the exertion of passing out of their own rooms. It is provided with a sweet-toned Harmonium, so that the monotony of a purely verbal service is avoided.

There are religious services daily at a quarter past nine. In connection with this, we noted a memorandum in the register which deserves to be transferred to this account; it was made by the clergyman on the 12th June, 1874, and is as follows; "To the glory of God and the great spiritual benefit of the inmates of this Church Home, the morning sacrifice of prayer and praise has been offered daily within these walls for nine full years." The general treatment of the inmates is good, and every possible liberty given them in their actions. Visitors are allowed to see them daily from one to four p. m., and on

Sundays from three to five p. m. The clothing supplied both males and females is comfortable and durable, and has not that characteristic look of pauperism that distinguishes the dress adopted in many asylums and charitable homes. There are three abundant meals daily, dinner fare being changed every day. The appearance of the inmates is the best criterion of their being well looked after; comfort and cleanliness being observable in the faces of all. The visiting Physician, makes frequent visits, as with persons of so advanced years, some are continually ailing. The sources of revenue of the Finlay Asylum are various, but consist principally of the interest on \$11,400 of City of Hamilton and Montreal shares; the English Cathedral allowance of \$504 annually for the support of 14 inmates, at \$3 per month: an annual collection made in the Cathedral, and a Local Government yearly grant of \$400. Donations of small sums of money, provisions, etc., help also to increase the fund. The St. George's Society have the privilege of sending any of the people they assist to the Finlay Asylum on payment of one shilling per diem. The total number of persons who have been relieved and cared for since the establishment opened, is 327. The Administration is conducted by a Corporation consisting of the Rector and Church wardens of the Cathedral. Secretary-Treasurer, R. J. LeSueur, Esq. Visiting Ladies—Mrs. Williams, Mrs. Houseman, Mrs. Pope, Mrs. M. G. Mountain, Mrs. H. G. Smith, Mrs. Fothergill, Miss Healy, Mrs. Bennett, Mrs. Rawson, Mrs. G. Irvine, Mrs. Edward LeMesurier, Mrs. H. McNab Stuart, Mrs. R. H. Smith, Misses: Phillips, Forsyth, S. Hamilton, Eppee and Dunn. Secretary of Ladies Committee, Miss Racey; Physician, Dr. Marsden. Superintendent, Mr. J. O. Richardson. Matron, Mrs. Richardson."

THE MALE ORPHAN ASYLUM.

In the same building we have just described, the left wing has been allotted to the Male Orphan Asylum, founded in 1832, incorporated in 1857. Here, the children whose parents belonged to the Church of England are provided for and fed, clothed, educated and lodged until they are about fourteen years of age, when a choice of trades is offered them, they being apprenticed to the one, they may like best. There are now in the orphanage 21 boys, ranging from three years of age upwards. The little fellows are well cared for, and bountifully fed; they go in the day time to the National Schools. A visiting Committee of twelve ladies, one for each month in the year, make frequent visits of inspection, the first Thursday in each month being

the day appointed for general meetings. The indoor arrangements of the dormitories and other accommodation for the boys is excellent; it makes a really comfortable home for many poor orphan boys who would otherwise be exposed to temptation and penury at the very outset of their existence. Rector, Revd. Geo. Housman, M. A.

Church Wardens: M. G. Mountain and Geo. Hall, Governors.

Ladies Committee: Mrs. Williams, Mrs. Clapham, Mrs. Wm. Wurtele, Mrs. Glover, Mrs. Boswell, Mrs. Bennett, Mrs. Fry, Mrs. R. H. Smith, Mrs. Housman, Mrs. Torre, Miss. Taylor, Miss Marion Mountain, Miss Healey, Secretary-Treasurer.

Female Orphan Asylum.

In the days when the Imperial Government kept up in Quebec a numerous Garrison, the want of an Asylum to maintain discharged soldiers, their widows and children was much felt; several military men and foremost Staff Surgeon Blatherwick, were conspicuous in efforts to organize a MILITARY HOME. The building, situated on St. Louis road, near the Martello Towers, is a good sized stone structure, two stories high. On the departure of the British Troops, it became vacant; it was purchased in 1873, for the "Female Orphan Asylum," through the liberality of the Trustees of the "Quebec Provident and Savings' Bank." The Secretary is Mrs. J. Fry.

Jeffery Hale's Hospital.

This institution, the result of the munificence of a single individual, was incorporated by Act of the Legislature in September, 1865. It is a private institution, established by private means and sustained by the same and donations. It is designed for the use of Protestants only, without regard to sect or denomination, to be forever under Protestant control, as contained in the proviso clause of the Act, which says, "Nor shall any person be appointed Governor or hold the office unless he professes the Protestant faith." The present property was purchased in December, 1865, and opened for admission of patients, in January, 1867. The building was enlarged to admit fever patients in 1873. The total cost of the property was \$21,000, and of the furniture \$3,400.

The building, formerly a private house, was suitably adapted for the purposes which it now serves; altitude, airiness, magnificent view of the St. Lawrence and Beauport Bay, a large garden, and perfect quiet combine to render the modest little house a perfect paradise for the sick. It is two storied, and a fever wing has been added of the same height during last year. Across the street, story upon story towers the immense school buildings of the Sœurs Grises, but at the back nothing impedes the view, and the fresh Laurentian breezes. A

spacious verandah runs all around that part of the buildings, on which the inmates can walk, or sit and bask in the warm sunlight, surveying a scene which for natural beauty, Italy itself can furnish few to surpass. In the little committee room, furnished more in the style of a private house than is usual in such establishments, a fine portrait of its generous founder ornaments the wall, the features marked with a benevolence quite in consonance with his actions. The male ward, on the ground floor, is a spacious apartment with three large windows at each end of the room; the floors are polished; in brightness and glistening purity, they bear a strong resemblance to the waxed floors in the state apartments of old French châteaux. There are nine beds in this ward, each fitted up, most comfortably, with scrupulously clean blankets, pillow-cases, &c.; by a simple contrivance they can be either let flat down or the head risen to any angle at which the sufferer likes best to repose. A washstand of polished wood is placed at one end of the apartment, and is fitted up with pure white china. Tables, chairs and cupboards all bear evidence of constant cleaning. Bibles and books there are in plenty, illustrated magazines, such as *Good Words*, *Sunday Magazine*, *Leisure Hour*, &c., lay also on the tables; around the walls are large framed and glazed Scriptural mottoes, illuminated in attractive colors, which give both the eye and the mind abundant food for observation and reflection, besides redeeming the walls from the unvarying whiteness, so forbidding in most public infirmaries. The waiting room for patients applying for admission, is flanked on the left by the surgery; fitted up with neatness, it is characteristic, like everything, in Jeffery Hale's Hospital. On the right, is a fine bath-room for males, which is always supplied with hot and cold water. The other necessary offices are in a similar condition of clean efficiency. On this floor, are the apartments of the matron, and a private room which may be utilized by six persons on payment of one dollar per diem. The furniture and fixtures are in the same style as a bed room in comfortably furnished houses of the well-to-do classes. A similar room for females is on the floor above. Upstairs, the conformation of the house is a counterpart of the ground floor. Immediately above the male ward, is one for females, fitted up for an equal number of patients. Two smaller rooms are devoted to invalid children—three beds for boys, and four for girls. Above this, on the attic floor, are the servants' bed-rooms; a room with two large tanks for the supply of water, and the linen room in which every article for the use of the hospital is assorted with an order and cleanliness that would please the most fastidious. In the well arranged kitchens, the walls bristle with a bright array of brass, copper and tin utensils, and all the paraphernalia of a good *cuisine*. A large cooking stove

stands in the centre of the room. The boiler room is adjacent and with everything else in the place, is in perfect order even to the coal cobbles. The furnace and its steam pipes looks a complicated piece of machinery, and big enough to blow the little institution into atoms, where it to turn rusty. The outside man has charge of it. The temperature of the building can be arranged to a nicety by means of the steam pipes, and there is a pleasant contrast in the warmth supplied in every corner to that given by stoves. There is an elevator or dumb waiter by which the patients receive their meals or soup, hot from the fire, and much trouble and bustle with servants is saved by its use. The fever wards are part of the same building, but do not communicate with it, except outside. There are two furnished, as we have described; they accommodate six in each; at present, they are unoccupied. The total number of infirm admitted since the opening of the Hospital is 480; the admissions this year (1875) to date are 57. The number of inmates is thus regulated in the By-laws of the Committee: "Every governor and medical officer of the Hospital, and the ministers belonging to the different Protestant congregations or any respectable Protestant citizen of this city may recommend patients to be admitted to the hospital in the manner and form hereinafter prescribed, but it shall be the exclusive prerogative of the attending physician or surgeon, as the case may be, to judge if the person so recommended be laboring under such disease as is admissible into the Hospital. The officers of Jeffery Hale's Hospital are Governors for life:—President, Rev. David Marsh, John Thompson, Esq., John Racey, M. D., Geo. Carlton Hale, Esq., and James S. Crawford; Treasurer and Secretary, James S. Crawford, Esq; Physicians, John Racey, M. D., and W. Rowand, M. D. The internal arrangements are managed by a matron, one male nurse, one female nurse, housemaid, cook, and one outside man. The institution was the recipient of \$1,000 in the year 1873, from an anonymous donor. It is a flourishing charity, and ought to be borne in mind, where the deserving sick who have no shelter or home can apply for aid."

Ladies' Protestant Home.

"This charitable institution originated in a society which was formed in 1855, under the name of the "Ladies' Quebec Protestant Relief Society." It was begun on a very humble scale, by the following ladies:—Mrs. Carden, Mrs. W. Newton, Mrs. S. Newton, Mrs. Knight, Mrs. Puffer, Mrs. Maxfield Sheppard, Mrs. Archibald Campbell, Mrs. James Bankier, and Miss H. Newton. These, with the help of the Rev. Mr. Carden, Mrs. Bradshaw, Miss D. S. Stuart, and others,

associated themselves together for visiting and relieving the wants of the Protestant poor of the city, but they soon found that without some home or house of refuge, much of the charity was misapplied; they, therefore, in 1858, made an appeal to the public for means to hire a house and provide a shelter for those cases that were utterly homeless and destitute. This appeal was most favorably received, and such was the encouragement they met with that the ladies soon after solicited an Act of Incorporation, which was granted in the spring of 1859; and thus, under the name of the "Ladies' Protestant Home," was founded the present institution, which claims to receive and help "destitute and unprotected women and female children of all Protestant denominations, in the city of Quebec." To this, the original design, has been added the maintenance of two infirmary wards for the treatment of non-infectious diseases.

The building, a stately fire brick structure, is situated on the left hand side of the St. Louis road, just within the turnpike. It is a handsome, spacious house, admirably suited to the purpose for which it was erected, and the site is one of the healthiest and finest in the city. The home was built by Mr. Hugh Hatch, contractor, Mr. Lecourt being the architect, under the direction of the following gentlemen—John Gilmour, Esq., Dr. Blatherwick, Mr. Sheriff Sewell, O. L. Richardson, Esq., A. C. Buchanan, Esq., George Veasey, Esq., McLean Stewart, Esq., Joseph Bowles, Esq., and John Musson, Esq., who voluntarily undertook to collect and solicit the funds necessary for the work. So successful were they, and so generously were subscriptions bestowed by all the leading members of the protestant community, that the sum of sixteen thousand dollars was soon at their disposal, and in May, 1863, the Home was completed and occupied; it now forms one of the most popular and useful of the many charitable institutions of the city."—*Maple Leaves*, 1815.

Marine Hospital.

"This edifice, one of the finest constructions in Quebec, was designed by M. M. Blaiklock, from the Temple of the Muses on the Elissus, near Athens. It presents a front of two hundred and seventy feet and is situated at the northern end of Crown street, on the north of *Pointe-aux-Lièvres*, a peninsula formed by a circuit of the St. Charles, near which Jacques-Cartier spent the winter in 1535. The remains of *La Petite Hermine*, of about sixty tons, and one of the vessels in which this celebrated navigator crossed the Atlantic, were found in 1844 by Joseph Hamel, Esq., bedded beneath the soil, opposite the upper end

of *Pointe-aux-Lièvres*, at 3,037 feet to the southward of the Marine Hospital.

The walls of this building are of cut-stone and its roof is covered with tin. It consists principally of a central corps, four stories high, seventy feet long and fifty-eight wide, and a wing at either end, one hundred feet in length. The main entrance to the central corps is through a portico which is thirty-five feet in length and eight and a half in breadth, formed by four columns thirty inches diameter at the base, of the ancient ionic order resting on a cut-stone base and supporting an entablature of cut-stone. There is in this portion accommodation for two hundred and twenty-five patients.

Near the main building, but completely separated from it, stands the cholera hospital, a wooden structure 202 feet long by twenty-four wide, two stories high and capable of accommodating one hundred cholera or fever patients.

The first stone of the principal building was laid on the 28th of May 1832, the anniversary of the birth day of William IV. The central portion and west wing were completed at a cost of \$60,000 in July 1834, when the building was opened for the reception of sick mariners and immigrants. The east wing was constructed in 1854-5-6 at an expense of about \$50,647. The whole expense incurred for the construction of the stone building and of the cholera hospital, completed in its present form in 1866, amounts to \$118,647.

The management of this hospital is entrusted to a board of commissioners appointed by the government. The present board is composed of Dr. P. Wells, secretary, Dr. Robitaille and Dr. Von Island: Drs. Landry, Lemieux and Rowand are the visiting physicians and Dr. Catellier the residing physician. In their report to the government for the year 1872-73, the commissioners give the following figures, which prove the usefulness of the hospital:

Total number of admissions	1323	
Discharged	1209	} 1323
Died	35	
Remaining	79	
Of these were:		
Sailors	723	} 1323
Immigrants	125	
Town people.....	475	

The expenses for the same year amounted to \$20,142.70. These expenses are defrayed by the federal and local governments, the latter contributing a fixed sum of \$4,000 a year supposed to represent the

expenses incurred for the treatment of town people, who are also received in this hospital, when they have good recommendations and are needy. Well to-do people, not having their families in the city, are also admitted and treated in this hospital, at a very moderate cost.

The main edifice is surrounded by a garden planted with trees in front, and a solid iron railing."

Quebec Lunatic Asylum.

On the splendid property of judge de Bonne, purchased for that purpose, this asylum was built as a refuge and place of special medical treatment for the insane. The site is very fine and most appropriated to such an establishment. From the buildings, the patients have a view of the harbour and city of Quebec, whilst in the other direction, they enjoy a magnificent spectacle offered by the lofty Laurentides mountains. The grounds are adorned with trees, flowers and meadows in front of the main building, near which flows the *Ruisseau de l'Ours*. Attached to the establishment is a large and admirably kept farm, on which part of the vegetables used, is raised.

There are two buildings: one for male and one for female patients. This last named is a cut-stone structure four stories high in the center, three at the extremities and two for the sections between the corner towers and the center, which is surmounted by an elegant cupola. The front of the central part is occupied by the entrance, the lodgings of the superintendent, and those of the resident physician. The rest of the building is inhabited by the female patients. In rear are the kitchen, the washing-room, the gas and water works. The size of this edifice is about 200 by 100 feet.

In the other building, of more recent and less ornamental design are the male patients. The size of this structure erected in 1864, is about the same as that of the other, but it is in all its parts four stories high. It is well ventilated and heated by steam, as the female quarters.

The whole establishment cost over half a million of dollars. It is owned and conducted by Dr. Landry and Dr. Roy, who spare nothing to make it a first class institution. According to a contract passed with the government, the Province pays a fixed sum for the maintenance of the institution and when the number of the patients exceeds a certain figure, the proprietors receive from the government \$132 a year for each additional person. The last report published by

Dr. Roy gives the following comparative table of the expenses incurred in various countries for the treatment of each lunatic:

England.....	\$122.00	United States.....	\$257.69
France.....	136.58	Quebec Asylum.....	108.00

This last figure is the best proof that can be given of the excellent management of this institution. The patients, in July, 1873, numbered 884, viz: 448 men and 436 women. From January, 1872 to July, 1873, the number of admissions was 182 men and 133 women, in all 315. The sum paid last year (1873), by the Provincial Legislature was \$177,000.

Although, it is called the Quebec Asylum, this institution is situated in the parish of Beauport, on the road to Montmorency, at a distance of two miles and a half from the city. That spot was chosen by the founders of the establishment, Drs. Douglas, Morrin and Fremont, who started it in 1845, on account of its healthiness, its fine position and its isolation. It is the only institution of the kind in the province, that of St. John's belonging to the government in stead of being a private enterprise as that of Quebec.

Belmont Retreat.

On the 22nd September, 1864, the *Fabrique Notre-Dame de Québec* sold to Mr. George Wakeham, with the spacious mansion thereon, twenty-six arpents of ground to wit, the road front of their extensive purchase from John W. Dunscomb, Esq., Collector of Customs. Mr. Wakeham, advantageously known as the superintendant, since its inception, of the Beauport Lunatic Asylum, undertook the establishment of a private asylum, at this very appropriate locality, to treat mental diseases generally; more specially those brought on by inebriety. The institution has so much increased in usefulness that Mr. Wakeham has recently been enabled to obtain a subsidy from the Provincial Government. Belmont Retreat is rather a historical spot. Ever since the conquest, it had been the family manor of the genial or warlike Caldwells—Colonel Henry, Sir John and Sir Henry Caldwell; it has been fully described in *Maple Leaves* for 1865, page 105.

In 1765, this property belonged to Gen. Murray.

CHURCHES AND CHAPELS.

The Basilica Minor.

In addition to its antiquity and internal beauty, the Basilica of Quebec, contains objects of art, well worthy of the attention of amateurs. In 1793, French church property, monasteries, &c., were pillaged and confiscated *en masse*. In this confusion and terror, paintings of great value were in some cases given away for the merest trifle. It so happened that one of the avaricious speculators of the period, who had purchased an incredible lot of them, failed. A French abbé, Rev. Messire Desjardins, a man of taste, having some money, bought the whole lot at a sacrifice. Cardinal Fesche, archbishop of Lyons, also bought some; the rest were shipped to America, about 1817, when the Quebec Seminary, the Roman Catholic Cathedral, the *Fabriques* of St. Michel, Lotbinière, &c., also became purchasers of these pictures—Some of them were invaluable as works of art and have ever since been the admiration of strangers visiting Quebec.

In the year 1647, the building of this cathedral was commenced and pursued under the auspices of bishop Laval, and nineteen years afterwards, on the 18th July, 1666, it was consecrated under the name of Church of the Immaculate Conception. It superseded the chapel of Jesuit's college, which was for sometime used as the parochial church of Quebec. Of course, this building has suffered much from the fires, occasioned by the storming of this city during the sieges, but the foundations and part of the walls are still the same; so that it may be said with accuracy that this church dates from 219 years back. It is the oldest church in North America.

It occupies, the south-east side of the market square in the upper town. It is distinguished rather for its solidity and neatness, than for splendor or regularity of architecture. The ailes or wings, considerably lower than the nave of the church, and the lofty tower and spires built without and separated from it on the south side, destroy all external symmetry, yet do not detract from the religious appearance of the pile. Within, it is very lofty, with massive arches of stone dividing the nave from the ailes, above which is a gallery on each side running the whole length of the interior. It is described by Colonel Bouchette as 216 feet in length by 108 in breadth. It is capable of containing a congregation of 4,000 persons. At the east end, are the grand altar and the choir, superbly decorated. There are also four chapels in the ailes, dedicated to different saints. In a

transverse gallery at the west end is the organ, in charge of Mr. Ernest Gagnon, who attended the courses of the *Conservatoire* of Paris. The walls are decorated with fine paintings, of which follows a list enumerated in order, commencing the survey to the right from the entrance, following the passage along the pillars which divide the nave from the wings :

1.—*The Holy Family*, by Blanchard (1600-1630, painter in ordinary to the King of France.)

2.—*The Saviour insulted by the Soldiers*,—St. Matthews, XXVII, 27, 31,—by Fleuret, (French school.)

3.—*Birth of Christ*, a splendid copy of the celebrated painting by Annibal Carrache, (italian school.)

4.—*The flight of Joseph into Egypt*, a copy of the original by Vanloo (flemish school) in the Seminary Chapel, by Theophile Hamel.

5.—*Our Saviour attended to by the Angels after the temptation in the desert*, by Restout, (1692-1718, french school.)

6.—*The Immaculate Conception*, Lebrun's, (french school) style.

7.—*St. Paul's extacy*, by Carlo Maretti (1625-1713 italian school).

8.—Altar, *Miracles of St. Ann*, by A. Plamondon, canadian artist and a pupil of Paul Guerin.

9.—*Our Saviour on the Cross*, by Van Dyck (1599-1641, flemish school) —This painting is one of the most remarkable in America and certainly the best in Canada.

10.—*The Pentecost*, by Vignon, (french school.)

11.—*The Annunciation*, by Restout, (french school.)

12.—*Lying into the Sepulchre*, copied by A. Plamondon from the original by Hutin, in the Seminary Chapel.

13.—*The Baptism of Christ*, by Claude Guy Hallé (1652-1736, french school.)

The sacristy contains the wards of the church, the rich ornaments, gold brocade, &c., among which a complete set of ornaments given to Bishop Laval by the great Louis XV.

English Cathedral.

(Used as parish Church.)

"This handsome edifice was built by the bounty of Government, upon the representations of the first Bishop of Quebec, Dr. Mountain—on ground on which stood the convent and church of the Franciscan Friars, destroyed by fire in september 1796. As the order was suppressed, Government took possession of those grounds; the present Church was erected and consecrated in 1804. It is, says Hawkins, an

edifice of regular architecture and very respectable appearance, standing in a spacious area, handsomely enclosed by iron rails and gates and planted with trees. Its exterior length is 135 feet, its breadth 73 ; the height of the spire above the ground is 152 ; from the floor to the centre of the arch within 41. The communion plate of this church is very magnificent, and persons in London were attracted to go and to see it while being made by Rundell and Bridge. This plate, together with the altar cloth, hangings of the desk and pulpit, which are of crimson velvet and cloth of gold, and books for divine service, was a private present from king George III. A good peal of eight bells, of which the tenor bell is about 16 cwt., was procured by the subscriptions of the congregation. The church has an excellent organ but neither surpliced choir, or dean and chapter. Galleries have been constructed, thrown back on each side of the organ, for the accomodation, of the children of the male and female orphan asylums, in their distinctive dresses.

Several handsome monuments, have been erected within the building, of which the principal is that erected to the memory of the Right Rev. Jacob Mountain, first bishop of Quebec, and through whose exertions the church was built.

The dimensions of this monument are eight feet by six, and its weight exceeds two tons. The work, which is executed by Nicholls, is of white marble, upon a marble ground, finished off in a semi-circular form at the top. The execution is very superior, the whole effect extremely striking, and the likeness of the Bishop most satisfactory,—although the friends who remember him in this country, where the nature of the climate induced him to dispense with the wig, regret that the head is not represented with his own venerable hair. The principal object is his bust in the episcopal dress, the whole head inclining forward and standing out entire, from the shoulders upward. The bust rests upon a pedestal on which the arms, surmounted by the mitre, are carved, and below, the inscription is engraved. On the other, a full length figure of Religion, clasping a bible to her breast, with the emblematical appendages of the cross and the crosier, or pastoral staff.

The monument forms a conspicuous ornament of the church, and is a suitable memorial of the excellent prelate who was the first occupier of the see, and procured the erection of the building itself. It is a circumstance, however, which ought not to be left unnoticed, that, upon his demise, a desire was expressed by his clergy, and formed the subject of very gratifying communications which passed among them, to combine in paying a tribute of this nature themselves to his

memory, if not rendered unnecessary by the proceeding which might be adopted by the family. The inscription is as follows, and we are sure that it will be regarded as simple and modest:—

Hic Jacet
 Vir admodum reverendus
 JACOB MOUNTAIN, S. T. P.
 Episcopus Quebecensis,
 Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ,
 in Canadis fundator,
 Qui obiit A. S. MDCCCXXV.
 Ætatis suæ LXXV.
 Episcopatus XXXIII;
 Præsul in divino munere obeundo,
 Promptus, fidelis, indefessus;
 in memoriam
 viri egregii,
 et sibi carissimi,
 hoc marmor
 conjux et liberi
 superstites
 P. G.

The remains of CHARLES LENNOX, Duke of RICHMOND LENNOX, and AUBIGNY, GOVERNOR GENERAL of these Provinces, are interred in the Chancel. He died, supporting to the last the torments of hydrophobia with undaunted constancy, on the 28th day of August, 1819.

The following are the inscriptions upon the other monuments:—

Sacred to the Memory
 of Lieutenant General Peter Hunter,
 Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada and Commander-in-Chief
 of his Majesty's forces in both the Canadas,
 who died at Quebec, on the 21st August, 1805,
 aged 59 years.

His life was spent in the service of his King and country.
 Of the various stations, both civil and military, which he filled,
 He discharged the duties with spotless integrity,
 unwearied zeal, and successful abilities.

This memorial to a beloved brother, whose
 mortal part rests in the adjacents place of burial,
 Is erected by John Hunter, M. D. of London.

In memory of Thomas Dunn, Esq., of Durham, in England,
who departed this life on the 15th April, A. D. 1818.

In the 88th year of his age.

During his long residence in this country,
where he established himself soon after the conquest,
He held several important situations under Government:
He was one of the original Members of the Legislative
and Executive Councils,
In which last capacity, during two different vacant intervals,
He administered the Government of the Province.

His known integrity and goodness
procured him the confidence and respect of the community;
And he was eminently possessed of those private qualities
Which cause men to be beloved during life, and lamented
in death.

“ BLESSED ARE THE DEAD
“ WHICH DIE IN THE LORD.”

Sacred to the memory of
The Honble. Carleton Thomas Monckton,
Fifth son of Robert Arundel, fourth Viscount Galway,
By his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Daniel Matthew, esquire,
of Felix Hall, Essex,
And great nephew of the Honble. Brigadier General Monckton,
who succeeded to the command of the British army
Upon the death of General Wolfe, at the splendid victory
achieved on the heights of Abraham, 13th Sept., A. D. 1759.
At the age of fifteen he entered the army and served in Spain,
And at the Battle of Waterloo was a Lieutenant
in the 16th Regt. of Light Dragoons.
He some years afterwards became a Captain
in the 24th Regt. of Infantry, which he accompanied to Canada,
and died after a short illness at Quebec, on the 10th May,
A. D. 1830.

In the 34th year of his age, beloved by his brother officers,
(and sincerely lamented by all who knew him.

This tablet was erected by his sorrowing brothers and sisters,
as a testimony of their fond affection to one
most justly dear to them,
and in the humble hope that, through faith in Christ Jesus,
the only Saviour, they, together with him,
may be blessed as are those that die in the Lord.

It stands within the communion rails. Immediately opposite is the monument of bishop Stewart, successor of Right Rev. Jacob Mountain, D.D. Another marble slab commemorates the death of the Duke of Richmond whose death was caused by hydrophobia arising from the bite of a pet fox in 1819,¹ while Governor General of Canada. Some other marble slabs are dedicated to the memory of distinguished political men.¹

Two very beautiful stained glass memorial windows have been erected in the Cathedral, under the supervision of Mr. Spence of Montreal. The one to the right of the chancel contains a large figure of Our Saviour as the Good Shepherd, holding in his arms a lamb and surrounded with sheep. The back ground of the picture consists of rich foliage, &c., the surroundings are in rich Gressaille glass; it bears the following inscription: "George Burns Symes, born Jany. 20, 1803; died June 12, 1863. This window is erected by his only daughter, Clara, Marquise de Bassano." Mr. Clutterbuck of England, is the artist of this window. The window on the left of the chancel contains a large group of the "Good Samaritan," which is an exquisite specimen of art manufacture.

¹ "The following being a copy of the Register of Burials, of the Cathedral Church of Quebec, settles several points, in connection with the date and place of demise of the late Duke of Richmond, buried as all know, within the precincts of the Cathedral. Some have asserted, that his Grace died of a malignant fever, others and of this number, Professor S. Ilman, who visited Quebec in 1819—that the Duke died from the effects of the bite of a tame fox. The cause of his death is not here assigned. Several of the "quality of old Quebec" appear to have signed the Register. The then Commander of the Forces Sir John Harvey, we believe, resided at Marchmont, Grande Allée, and the Chief Justice Jonathan Sewell in his cosy old homestead, subsequently purchased by Government from the Heirs Sewell's, and now occupied by His Honor the Lieutenant Governor and Executive office.

The first Bishop Mountain officiated, being assisted by his son, the late Bishop. "His Grace, Charles Duke of Richmond, Lennox and Aubigny, &c., &c., &c., Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, Governor-in-Chief and Commander of the forces in and over the British possession in North America, aged fifty-five years, died at the new military settlement of Richmond in Upper Canada, on the 28th of August, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of Quebec, (this distinction being, by the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, specially and exclusively, reserved for the representatives of His Majesty being Governors-in-Chief and dying in the execution of their office,) on the 4th September in the year of our Lord 1819 by me.

(Signed,)

J. Quebec,

assisted by Geo. J. Mountain, officiating Minister.

JOSEPH LANGLEY MILLS,
Chaplain of the Forces."

PRESENT:—W. MacLeod, Cousin, Major and aide de camp J. Ready, Lieut.-Col. and P. Secretary, G. Bowles, Military Secretary and Major, J. Harvey, Lieut. Col., Dy. Adj. Genl., J. Sewell, Chief-Justice of L. Canada, C. Marshall, Sol.-Genl., Lower Canada, Ross Cuthbert, M. Executive Council Wm. Smith, M. Executive Council, John Caldwell, Rr. Genl. and M. Legislative of Canada.

¹ The Chancel contains a magnificent memorial window of the late Right Reverend Jehoshaphat Mountain, D.D. Bishop of the Diocese. It consist of three parts. The centre and large window representing the Ascension: the Baptism and Transfiguration being represented in the side windows. The friends and admirers of the late Bishop subscribed for the erection of this window, the execution of it having been entrusted to Clutterbuck of Stratford near London. At the base of the window is the following inscription. "To the glory of God, and in grateful remembrance of George Jehoshaphat Mountain, D.D. some time Bishop of this Diocese, whom the grace of Christ, enable to fulfil the duties of a long ministry to the advancement of this Church, and the lasting benefit of many souls. Ob: MDCCCLXIII. Æt: LXIII.

The upper and lower parts of the window contain angels, with the words, "Blessed are the Merciful," "Go, and do thou likewise," and the work surrounded with elaborate foliage and bordering, in rich antique glass. The inscription is as follows; "In memory of Archibald Campbell, H. M. Notary, born 29th June, 1780, died July 16th, 1862." This window was executed by Mr. J. C. Spence, of Montreal, the centre group being painted by Wailes, of Newcastle, England.

Overhanging the chancel are the old colors of the 69th Regt. Foot, deposited by Lt.-Col. Bagot, on the occasion of new colors being presented the regiment, on the Esplanade, at Quebec, by H. R. H. Prince Arthur, in 1870. The ceremony of depositing in the cathedral these warlike standards, was attended by a striking military pageant and by an immense concourse of spectators. This Cathedral is the only one we know of, on the continent containing British colors.

The popular Colonel of the Regiment closed his eloquent address as follows :

"The cordiality which has existed between the citizens and the military of this city, is the natural result of that glorious past which lies behind Quebec,—the man would be dull indeed whose heart did not acknowledge a livelier throb at the memories which lie so thickly around these time-worn walls.

"I have deemed it fortunate that we shall be able to consecrate the new colors which we are so soon to carry, upon a spot which has been long consecrated to glory by some of the grandest deeds in our nation's history ; and it is my hope that the colors we bear this day, and which we have carried through four continents, may repose at length in your midst to add an additional link to the memories which will bind us together."

(Signed),

GEO. BAGOT,

Lieutenant-Colonel,

Commanding 69th South Lincolnshire Regt.

Quebec, 8th June 1870."

Opposite the church is a neat cut stone building in which the rector resides ; it was erected in 1841, and attached to it, is the *Chapel of all Saints*, used for occasional services."

Church of the Congregation.

There is nothing worth mentioning about that church, which is a plain building situated on Dauteuil street, fronting the Esplanade. It is in charge of the Jesuits, and used as a special chapel by the members of the congregation of men in the upper town.

Church of St. Jean-Baptiste,

On St. John street is the church of the roman catholics residing in St. John suburb. It was erected in 1848, unfortunately not according to the design of the architect, which accounts for some discrepancy in its proportions. However, it is a very fine and large cut-stone building, with two square towers on which are erected the lofty spires which are seen at a great distance. The ceiling is well finished, the nave divided from the aisles by fine Corinthian columns and all the interior neat and elegant. It has seats for 2000 persons. The walls of this church are adorned with paintings copied from the originals of celebrated masters of the french and italian schools. The list is as follows :

1.—The *Baptism of Christ*, copied by Légaré, a Quebec artist, from the original of Claude Guy Hallé.

2. *Sainte Cécile*, copied from Raphaël by A. Plamondon, an artist of Quebec.

3. *St. Charles Borromée giving the sacrament to the plague-stricken of Milan*, copied by Plamondon.

4. *La Vierge Sixtine*, copied from Raphaël, by Plamondon.

5. *St. Anne*, by A. Plamondon.

6. *The Assumption*, copied from N. Poussin, by Plamondon.

7. *The Transfiguration*, copied from Raphaël, by Plamondon.

8. *Jesus curing the blind of Jericho*, copied from N. Poussin, by Plamondon.

9. *The Adoration of the Wise men of the East*, copied from Raphaël, by Plamondon.

10. *Jesus handing the Keys to St. Peter*, copied from N. Poussin, by Plamondon.

11. *The Scena*, copied from L. de Vinci, by Plamondon.

12. *The Flight to Egypt*, copied from Vanloo, by Plamondon.

St. Matthew's Church, (Church of England)

“ One of the handsomest architectural structures that strike the eye of a stranger when passing through St. John street (without) is St. Mathews Church.

Some are still living amongst us who can recall in 1828, the services first commenced by the late Bishop Mountain, in a room of a small wooden house, occupied by the sexton of the Protestant burying-ground in which it stood. The room was bare and unadorned ; its furniture was of the plainest description : a desk for the clergyman and the clerk who made the responses, and some rough benches without any backs, on which the people sat.

As the congregation grew, the room was enlarged by an addition to the building, which gave it the form of the letter T. About the same time a small belfry was erected on one end of the building.

Rough and unadorned as the whole was, the loving spirit of the good Bishop, his earnest teaching, and the hallowed associations of hearty worship rendered it beautiful and attractive to not a few. The disastrous fire of 1845 completely destroyed the little wooden chapel, and many of the head-boards erected over the graves of those who had been laid to rest beneath its walls. In 1849, a stone building, very neat and commodious, and a model, for its day of ecclesiastical architecture was brought to completion. The staff of clergy connected with the Church of England was not sufficient to secure more than service on Sunday evenings and on one week-day evening until 1853 when the Rev. Armine Mountain was enabled to commence a morning service every Sunday. As the congregation grew in numbers, it became necessary to secure for them the entire services of a clergyman, whose sole office should be to minister to them. This was effected through the generosity of the late Bishop Mountain who provided a salary out of his own income as Rector of Quebec and appointed as incumbent the Rev. Henry Roe, now Professor of Divinity at Bishop's College, Lennoxville. The removal of the Government in 1855 took away 106 families who habitually attended the services of the chapel. The blank thus left was soon filled up by others, until in 1870, it became necessary to enlarge the building. This was accomplished then by taking down the east wall and adding two transepts with a chancel. The building was not otherwise disturbed. It remained, as completed in 1849, for the accommodation of the congregation with all the increased space secured in the transepts and chancel. A church whose seats are free to all, ought always to be roomy, to have larger accommodation than the actual numbers of the congregation may demand. These circumstances led the congregation last winter to determine upon further enlarging the church. This has now been effected by the same contractors, under the same architect, who designed and erected the transepts and chancel. In this instance the transepts and chancel have not been disturbed, but the walls of the building erected in 1849 have been taken down and a new edifice, larger and wider than the original has been erected in its place. Its general appearance and effect have called forth warm admiration. The interior is more spacious and striking than the street view would indicate. The building is of various styles of Gothic, which gives it a very graceful and commodious appearance; the broad nave, bridged over by its high, pointed roof of polished

wood, of which we believe there is no counterpart in Quebec, is a marvel of mechanical construction and design; the boldness and airiness of effect, the exact proportions between strength and burden, as here developed are in high degree admirable, and entitle designers and contractors to a large meed of praise. The nave in question runs from east to west parallel with the street; on the southern side there is an aisle separated from the main transept by several circular pillars of decorated Gothic, having floral designs entwining them. On entering by the main entrance, the first thing that strikes the spectator is the perfect arrangement of the seats with regard to the uninterrupted view of the altar, choir and pulpit, which can be obtained by the congregation, no matter where situated; consequently, of seeing and hearing all that transpires in the holy fane. The seats are broad and slightly sloping back, give a degree of comfort rarely met with; at the foot of the chancel steps, stands the Fold or Litany stool where the clergyman says or sings the Litany in the midst of the people; not far from it, is placed the Lectern which is a handsome eagle carved in oak; on its outstretching wings, rests the sacred volume of God's word. The seats in the chancel for the clergy and ten choir men and twenty choir boys, are also of oak and handsomely carved.

There are some costly and handsome memorial windows in the church—chiefly by Clutturebuck, the well known London artist; the three in the southern transept bear the following inscription, which in brief and attractive language tell, that they are erected to “the Glory of God and the memory of George Jehoshaphet Mountain, third Bishop of Quebec, who for fifty years preached the Gospel to the poor on this spot.”

Two of the west windows are in memory of the late wife of Henry Petry, Clerk in Holy orders, and of his brother the late Augustus Petry. In the Chancel, just behind the choir seat which used to be occupied by the late George A. L. Wood Esq., has been placed a window in his memory. The scene depicted in the window is the calling of St. Mathew from the receipt of custom. The side windows are also of stained glass of a beautiful and chaste design. A handsome baptismal font of carved stone, surmounted by a richly designed covering of ornamented wood, stands close to the main entrance door. The lighting of the church at night is amply provided for by branched pilasters or standards, each burning fifteen jets placed in the form of a crown of flame. Those in the main body of the building are of very elegant form, and being painted in dark blue and gilded, contrast prettily with the dark oak brown of the surrounding wood work. And on either side in the chancel, there is a handsome corona and standards of burnished brass.

In the north transept stands the new organ, built by the Messrs. Warren, of Montreal. Its position, in a loft of black and grey walnut, seems to be very happily arranged, relatively to both the choir and the congregation. Now having approached the altar, we are enabled to see the taste which characterizes every feature of the building; over head, the groined arch of the chancel roof painted a deep celestial blue, the Holy Table with its one motto: the name of Jesus. Sweeping through the multicolored stainings of the windows which surround it, daylight rays are pouring in all the splendour of ruby, crimson, and orange, of scarlet and green, and purple or amethyst. Under foot is the elaborate mosaic flooring made of seven descriptions of Canadian woods and the result of years of devoted labor on the part of Mr. Brock, an inmate of the Church Home. The dark wood and brass work which form the broad altar railings at which worshippers will partake of the Holy Eucharist is a very handsome piece of work, and has quite a mediæval look. The double vestry for choir and clergy, at the other, the western end of the edifice, is fitted up with all that is convenient for their investiture or disrobing. The harmonious combination of the architecture of the twelfth, with the requirements and comforts of the nineteenth century, has been very happily and judiciously effected by the architect, Mr. Thomas, of Montreal; and those who so efficiently aided him here—Messrs Hatch Bros our well-known building firm; Mr. Staveley, the agent here for the architect; and Mr. Mulholland, who has had charge of the heating of the building. The best thing however, with respect to this House of God is that there is no restriction whatever from all participating in its services and enjoying its accommodation. *All seats are free.* The building will, we understand, accommodate 800 worshippers. Credit is due to all concerned on the successful completion of such an auspicious work as the restoration of St. Matthew's Church. The indefatigable exertions of the Revd. Charles Hamilton, among his parishioners and Yellow-churchmen have been so conspicuous in fathering, fostering and developing this good work that it would be manifestly unjust not to render him hearty thanks for having caused the erection of so commodious a building. The Sunday School attached to this church assembles in a suitable building erected for that purpose, on the corner of St. Augustin and D'Aiguillon streets."

The Baptist Church.

The Baptist Church was built in the year, 1844-5, when the Revd. Dr. Marsh, the present minister, was invited to become its pastor. The present chapel, in St. Helen street, was built in the year 1854, and enlarged in 1875.

St. Patrick's Church.

"The Irish Catholics of Quebec, finding by the rapid increase of their number, that they could no longer conveniently assemble for public worship in the small Church of Notre Dame des Victoires came to the spirited determination of building a Church on an extensive scale, which would afford accommodation to all Catholics of the City and Suburbs, using the English language. To effect this, they called a general meeting of all the members of their body, and immediately opened a subscription, which to the lasting honor of the their fellow citizens of every denomination, met with the strongest marks of public approbation, evinced by the gratifying circumstance, that many of the most generous subscribers to the undertaking were Protestants.

In the fall of 1831, a spacious lot of ground in rear of Palace Street was purchased for the sum of £2,300; and in the month of June following, the corner-stone of St. Patrick's Church was laid with the usual ceremony. This circumstance took place just at the memorable time when that dreadful scourge, the Cholera Morbus, first burst upon the inhabitants of Quebec. The spirit and zeal of the Congregation on this trying occasion are beyond all praise, for their persevering magnanimity in prosecuting the undertaking through all the unforeseen difficulties which arose out of the panic created in the public mind by that desolating pestilence. In the short space of twelve months, the building was ready for dedication, which ceremony took place on the first Sunday in July, 1833, amid hearty rejoicings and thanksgivings.

St. Patrick's Church is a fine substantial stone building, covering an area of 136 feet by 62. It fronts St. Helen Street, and is entered by three well moulded doors, the largest of which is in the tower, the other two in the side aisles, besides the two entrances to the east and west. It is lighted on each side by a double tier of windows well made and in admirable proportion. The roof and galleries are supported by massive pillars with bases and capitals. The ceiling is 48 feet high, richly embossed and ornamented with scriptural emblems. The steeple is handsome and well proportioned, and stands 120 feet from the ground to the ball which supports the cross. There are very extensive and magnificent galleries round the inside, terminating over the Sanctuary, furnished with a triple range of elegant pews, which, with those of the ground flat, are calculated to accommodate an immense congregation.

The interior of this Church when finished, comprising pillars, columns, arches, ceilings, the grand variegated altar, tabernacle and canopy, the adorned Sanctuary, flank and end windows, organ, &c.

with all their varied tracery, will present a *coup-d'œil*, to strike the beholder with religious awe and admiration." (Hawkins, Picture of Quebec, 1834.)

The St. Patrick Church was lengthened and the present *sacristy* added in 1847, the members having purchased the site of the "Theatre," from Chief Justice Sewell's heirs, on the 27th Sept. 1846. The respected pastor, Revd. Patrick McMahon, died on 3rd Oct. 1851, and was interred in the Church; two tablets have been placed in the Church to commemorate his memory—one in marble, placed on one of the pillars; and one in brass, on the floor, immediately over his grave. Mr. McMahon, born at Ballyoran, Queen's Co., Ireland, was ordained 6th October 1822. He was succeeded by the Revd. James Nelligan, who died *Curé* of St. Joseph, Beauce, 24th June 1868. In the upper sacristy, there are two life-size portraits of these gentlemen, one by Theop. Hamel; the other by Dynes.

During the Revd. Mr. Nelligan's incumbency, the Hall in rear of the Church was erected for the St. Patrick's Catholic and Literary Institute, and was occupied by that body until May 1875, when they purchased the Victoria Hall, St. Ann street, and were incorporated under the name of the "St. Patrick's Literary Institute."

Up to 1856, St. Patrick's Church was only a chapel-of-ease to the Parish Church of Notre-Dame, but with the consent of the Bishop, an Act of Parliament was obtained, granting the right of keeping registers and other parochial privileges from 1st January 1856. The Church then bought one half of the Cemetery of St. Louis (Cholera burying ground), from the Fabrique, and the remaining half was acquired when the Belmont Cemetery was opened by the Fabrique. The Rev. Mr. Nelligan, in 1856, was succeeded by the Rev. Bernard McGauran, a native of the County Sligo, Ireland, born in 1821—he held the charge until October 1874, when he resigned and retired from the active duties of the ministry.; he has been one of the truest and most energetic friends St. Bridget Asylum ever had. The Church is, since October 1874, in charge of the Revd. Redemptorist Fathers, from Baltimore.

French Protestant Church.

There is now in process of construction, at a cost of \$6,000, exclusive of price of land, what is expected to be a handsome Gothic church. The site selected is close to St. Mathew's Church, St. John street, without, on a vacant lot.

The materials are to be Cap Rouge stone; the style adopted the 13th century, with traceried windows of a rather later period.

Service in French will be held there by Revd. Mr. Langël.

Builders, Hatch Bros. Architect, Henry Staveley.

St. Andrews Church.

"It is believed that a regularly ordained Clergyman of the Church of Scotland has officiated to the Presbyterians of that persuasion in Quebec, ever since the conquest in the year 1759. It is certain that an "apartment was assigned by the King's representative in the Jesuits' College, as a place of worship for the members of the Scotch Church," previous to the year 1767, and occupied as such without interruption, until the 6th October, 1807: when Colonel Isaac Brock, Commandant, requested the congregation to be prepared to remove thence "on the shortest notice," as it was found necessary to appropriate it to the accommodation of the troops.

On the 3rd November, 1807, the Governor-in-Chief commanded his Secretary to address a letter to the Clerks of the Peace, of which the following is an extract:

"The Governor-in-Chief having found it necessary to appropriate to military purposes the room in the Jesuits' Barracks, which has hitherto been made use of by the Presbyterian congregation at Quebec, as a place of worship, I have it in command from His Excellency to desire, that, till a more permanent provision for their accommodation can be made, you will allow the said congregation to assemble on the Sundays in the lower room of the Court House, in which the Justices of the Peace hold their Sittings."

On the 30th November, 1808, letters patent were issued by His Excellency Sir James Henry Craig, Knight of the Most Honorable Order of the Bath, granting as a place for the erection of a Church for the public worship or exercise of the religion of the Church of Scotland, a certain lot or piece of ground in St. Anne's street, Upper Town, unto Alexander Spark, John Blackwood, John Mure, David Munro, and John Paterson, and their successors, in trust for ever.

In the month of February, 1809, the Committee appointed by the congregation to solicit subscriptions, reported that the sum of £1547, currency, had been subscribed, and such further subscriptions expected, that they considered themselves authorized to contract for the building of a Church on their lot, sixty feet by forty, inside the walls—which, being finished, was consecrated and set apart by the name of Saint Andrew's Church, for the ordinances of christian worship, on the 30th November, 1810, by the late Rev. Dr. Spark.

Dr. Spark died suddenly on the 7th March, 1819. The Rev. Dr. Harkness, the present incumbent (1834), was ordained as his successor by the Presbytery of Ayr, in Scotland, on the 7th March, 1820, and preached for the first time to the congregation, on the 4th June following.

In the year 1821, the Church being found far from adequate to the accommodation of its members, a petition was presented by the Trustees to His Excellency the Earl of Dalhousie, for an additional space of ground to enable them to enlarge it—with which His Excellency was graciously pleased to comply, and also to grant an aid of £300 currency, out of the monies arising from the Jesuits' Estates, besides generously subscribing £50 currency, towards carrying the same into effect.

The enlargement was completed in May, 1824, and with the exception of the above mentioned sums, cost the congregation by voluntary subscription nearly £2300 currency. The Church, as it now stands, is 95 feet by 48 inside the walls, and can accommodate 1300 sitters. The number of communicants exceeds 300: upwards of 260 individuals received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in the Church, on the 2nd day of March 1833. ¹ (Hawkins' *New Picture of Quebec*, 1834)

The old church still stands, very plain, and externally without any architectural pretension. In 1875, it was much improved in the interior, and at present is as comfortable a church as any in the city. The appearance has also been greatly improved, by several memorial windows, erected by Spence, of Montreal, at the cost of the members of the congregation, as follows, one to:

John Wilson Cook, Esq.—by Dr. Cook.

W. Gunn, Esq.—by Mrs W. Herring.

Alex. Simpson, Esq. (*Saviour at the Temple*)—by Mrs. Simpson.

John Ross and John Strang, Esqs.—by David A. Ross, Esq.

Joseph Morrin, M.D.—by Morrin College.

Hon. John Neilson (in process of construction) by his sisters.

The last a "*Christ blessing the children*," offered by a Sunday school, proceeds of a bazaar. There are also three very elegant marble

¹ "The Rev. George Henry, a military chaplain at the time of the conquest, was the first Presbyterian Minister who officiated in the Province. His stated Ministry at Quebec, commenced so far back as the year 1765, only six years after the cession of the country to the Government of Great Britain. He presided in public worship for the last time, June 30th, 1793. He died on the 6th July, 1795, aged 36 years. From the year 1786 to 1789, he was relieved of half of his public duty; and, from the latter date, till the time of his death, of his whole duty, by the Rev. Alexander Spark, then tutor in the family of Col. Hy. Caldwell, at Belmont, near the city. Mr. Spark came to Quebec in 1780. His collegiate course had been previously completed at Aberdeen. Until the year 1807, the congregation met for worship in a large room in the Jesuits' Barracks; which had been assigned by the Governor for their use as far back as 1767. Thereafter, war with the United States becoming imminent, the congregation met in the lower room of the Court House. On the 30th November, 1808, His Excellency, Sir J. H. Craig, signed letters patent making over a part of the ground on which St. Andrew's Church now stands to certain trustees. Rev. A. Spark died, 7th March 1819, and was buried within the presents of the Church. He was succeeded on 7th March, 1820, by Revd. James Harkness, D. D., who died on the 25th February, 1835, and was also buried in the Church. Early in 1836, Revd. John Cook, D. D., a native of Sanguhar, Dumfriesshire—educated at the University of Edinburgh succeeded him." (The *Presbyterian* for 1866, page 103.)

tablets. In the east, one presented by Lt.-Col. Lauderdale Maule of the 79th Cameron Highlanders, dedicated to the soldiers who died at Quebec, 1848-51—by Morgan. The names of the Highlanders are inscribed on this handsome slab.

A London marble Tablet, to Rev. Dr. Jas. Harkness.

“ “ “ to Rev. Alex. Spark next to pulpit.

Church of St. Roch.

The site of this church was given in 1812 by Hon. John Mure ; the building was destroyed by fire 28th May, 1845 and rebuilt, and opened the 25th December of the same year, though not yet completed. It stands between St. Francis and St. Joseph streets : a large and fine cut-stone edifice with lofty towers and spires at each corner of the front. The interior, which can accommodate 4,000 sitters, is beautiful, the center of the double rank of galleries is Corinthian supported by columns which reach the ceiling. The altars in the chapels are worth noticing, on account of their elegance and neatness of design. The paintings are not numerous : *Resurrection of Christ*, by Chalis ; *Holy Family*, copied from the original by the late Theophile Hamel, a Quebec artist of talent and distinction ; and the *Christ*. St. Roch and St. Joseph chapel, Gospel side and without the choir, contains a picture representing *St. Roch and a Virgin*, by Blanchard, a french artist, and the Virgin chapel, on the Epistle side, the *Holy Family*, by Colin de Vermont.

Church of the Congregation.

Also in St. Roch and on St. Joseph street, is a plain and cut-stone edifice. The addition of a splendid sanctuary having been made lately at a costly price, renders the church one of the most attractive for public worship. It is a roman catholic church.

Church of St. Sauveur.

This is another roman catholic church, the only one in the parish of St. Sauveur. It was destroyed by the great fire of 1866 and repaired immediately, except the spire, which has not been rebuilt. The present edifice is like many other roman catholic churches of Quebec, a large cut-stone building, capable of holding about 4,000 persons.

Being the parish Church of a very thriving and fast extending suburb, this place of worship, ere long, will doubtless have valuable paintings to ornament its walls.

Chalmer's Free Church.

This is a very beautiful specimen of church architecture erected in 1852 and situated at the head of Ste. Ursule street. It is certainly one of the finest buildings of the kind in Quebec, well designed and surmounted by an elegant spire resting on a tower. It was built by those who cast in their lot with the Free Church of Scotland, of whom the late James Gibb, Esq., of Woodfield, was one of the most active and liberal members. The first minister was the Revd. W. B. Clark, formerly of Maxwelltown, Dumfries, Scotland, who was succeeded in 1875 by the Revd. Peter Wright, the present minister.

Congregational Church.

The Congregational Church stands at the corner of Palace and St. Helen streets, and is a substantial cut stone edifice in the gothic style. It was built in 1840, and has a handsome groined ceiling supported by pillars,—is elegantly furnished and accommodates comfortably five hundred persons. The congregation has been ministered to by the following clergymen, in the order named:

Revd. T. Atkinson (who founded the church.)

Revd. James Drummond.

Revd. A. Giekie.

Revd. W. H. Heu-de Bourck.

The present minister, the Revd. H. D. Powis, has presided over the church for nearly twenty years. The Congregation members about 250 persons, and the number of communicants is about 100.

The building is entirely free of debt.

St. Peter's Church.

Was erected in St. Valier street, in 1842, for the convenience of members of the Episcopal Church residing in St. Roch. It is a plain but neat church, in charge of the Rev. M. M. Fothergill, incumbent, and of the Rev. H. Burgess, curate.

Methodist Church.

The first Methodist Minister appointed to Quebec, was the Rev. Samuel Merwin, in the year 1804. A commissary of the 44th Regiment, a local preacher, officiated for a time in 1780. Church is situated at the corner of St. Stanislas and Dauphine streets, is built of cut stone in the gothic style of architecture, and is an ornament to the city. It was erected in 1850, cost \$56,000, and will seat comfortably 1,250 persons. It possesses a well finished interior and a sweet toned organ. The Revd. H. F. Bland is the pastor.

Church of Notre-Dame des Victoires.

This fane is interesting only on account of its antiquity ¹ and being one of the first roman catholic church erected in Canada. The building which stands in the lower town square, is plain and massive within and without, and has lost by repeated repairs its antique look, though the walls are for the most part those erected previously to 1690, since they have not been completely demolished during the various sieges of Quebec.

In the year 1690, according to Hawkins, amid the joy caused by the defeat of Sir William Phipps in his attempt to capture the town, the *fête of Notre-Dame des Victoires* was established, to be annually celebrated in this church on the 7th October, that being the day on which the first intelligence of the coming of the fleet was received. After the shipwreck of the english fleet in 1711, which was considered a second victory, a little less than a miraculous interposition in their favor, this church received the name of *Notre-Dame des Victoires*, in order to commemorate both occasions. It was destroyed by the fire from the Point Lévis batteries in 1759. It is said that it contained at that time a picture representing a city in flames, with an inscription stating that "in the year 1711, when Quebec was menaced with a siege by Admiral Walker and General Hill, one of the *religieuses* prognosticated that the church and lower town would be destroyed by the British in a conflagration before the year 1760." It also contained the flag taken by the Canadians from Phipps' ship in 1690.

There is no regular service in this church for a long time past, and it is looked on merely as a chapel under the administration of the upper town church authorities.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND HALLS.

The Parliament House.

In its present condition, has a front of 276 feet, and is situated at the eastern extremity of Grand Battery, where it stands at an elevation of about 150 feet about the St. Lawrence. It consists, principally, of a central portion, measuring 60 feet in front by 135 in depth, three stories high, and of two wings, each 108 feet in length, 43 in breadth, and two stories high. The building is of english fire-brick. It was constructed in 1859 and 1860 for the sum of \$61,514, according to a

¹ The concession of the site, under De Nouville, dates back to 1685.

design furnished by Mr. F. P. Rubidge. The site upon which this structure stands contains 76,993 feet of ground, acquired in 1831 from the roman catholic bishop of Quebec for a yearly and redeemable ground rent of \$4,886.

This building contains the hall of the Legislative council and Assembly of the province of Quebec, and a library of near 11,000 volumes, in charge of L. P. Lemay, a canadian poet.

The Post Office.

The corner stone of the present post office was laid on the 17th July, 1871, by the Hon. H. L. Langevin, then Minister of Public Works. The ceremony was attended with the usual accompaniment—depositing newspapers French and English, with the inscription given below, in a glass bottle with coins of the realm. ¹

There is quite a legend about the edifice which preceded the present one on that ground. "The History of an old House." It will be found in detail, page 89 of *Maple Leaves*. New Series, 1873. "Under french dominion, the old post office building was occupied by a merchant called Philibert and of high distinction. A quarrel occurred between him and the *intendant* Bigot who, abusing his power, had every advantage on Philibert. Unable to obtain redress for his injuries, real or supposed, Philibert bitterly, although correctly, expressed his sentiments under the image of the *Chien d'Or* or Golden Dog, which has been replaced above the main entrance of the new post office, to which he added the following inscription in old french :

JE SVIS VN CHIEN QVI RONGE L'OS
EN LE RONGEANT JE PRENDS MON REPOS.
VN TEMS VIENDRA QVI N'EST PAS VENV
QVE JE MORDRAY QVI MAVRA MORDV.

1 Cette Pierre Angulaire
du
Bureau de Poste de la Cité de Québec
A été posée, ce 17ième jour de juillet
1871.

Sous le règne de
Sa Majesté la Reine Victoria,
Son Excellence le Baron Lisgar, Gouverneur Général,
L'honorable Sir Narcisse Fortunat Belleau, Chevalier,
Lieutenant-Gouverneur,
L'honorable Hector L. Langevin, C. B., Ministre des
Travaux Publics,
Son Honneur Pierre Garneau, écuyer, maire de Québec,
Pierre Gauvreau, écuyer, Architecte,
Et MM. Joseph et Paul Breton, Entrepreneurs.

Près de cette inscription se trouvent l'inscription et la pierre angulaire de l'ancien Bureau de Poste de Québec, démoli dans le mois d'avril 1871.

Of which the translation is :

I AM A DOG GNAWING A BONE
WHILE I GNAW, I TAKE MY REST.
THE TIME SHALL COME, WHICH HAS NOT COME
WHEN I WILL BITE HIM WHO NOW BITES ME.

Bigot determined on revenge, and Philibert descending the Lower Town hill, received the sword of a french officer of the garrison through his body. The perpetrator of this murder left the Province; the crime was not to be forgiven. The brother of Philibert come from Bordeaux to settle the estate, with the determination of taking vengeance on the assassin. Having ascertained that the murderer had gone to the East Indies, he pursued him thither and meeting him in a street of Pondicherry, killed him with his sword. The name of the Golden Dog was given on account of this emblematic dog having always been gilt.

On the place of the building having that dog and inscription in front, the present post office has been lately erected and opened in the fall of 1873. After the Marine Hospital and the Custom House, it is certainly the finest edifice in Quebec. It is built of grey cut-stone, three stories high, and about 80 feet by 40. The exterior is plain, but pleasing, with mouldings above the doors and windows. The entrance, at the corner of Fort and Buade streets, is between two short columns of the ionic order. A bust of Champlain graces the door above the Main entrance.

The Custom House.

" Is situated on a lot containing 88,000 square feet, south ward of the Harbor commissioners wharf at the confluence of the St. Lawrence with the river St. Charles. It was designed by Mr. Thomas, of Toronto, and constructed by Mr. Ths. McGreevy, who signed the contract on the 15th December, 1856. It is a cut-stone edifice, two stories in height, with a basement, founded on the bed of the river in deep water and protected on all sides by a substantial wharf of crib-work filled with stone. It is 159 feet in length, 49 in breadth, and comprises a portico of 60 by 34 feet on its principal facade. This portico, which is of the doric order, consists of a sediment supported by six cut-stone plated columns, four feet six inches diameter at their base, and resting on a cut-stone basement. The roof is crowned by a dome about thirty feet in diameter surmounted by a flag-staff.

The site was purchased for the sum of \$32,000 which, with \$227,227 for the building makes \$259,227 for the whole. The works were com-

menced in 1856, suspended in 1857 and completed in 1860, when the building was occupied by the Department. The interior portion of the building was destroyed by fire on the 10th September, 1864, and rebuilt in 1865-6, at a cost of about \$27,000.

The Custom House is one of the finest buildings of Quebec. The present Collector of Customs is J. W. Dunscomb, Esq."

The Jesuit Barracks.

(The Jesuits College.)

This famous old seat of learning was fully described at page 46. It will soon disappear for ever as appears by the following.

The Jesuit College was taken possession of in 1765.

By—His Excellency the Honorable James Murray, Esq., Capt. General and Governor-in-Chief of the province of Quebec, &c., &c.

To Captain James Mitchelson—Captain William Martin—Lieutenant Smith, Messieurs Amiôt, Boisseau and Moore.

Whereas it appears to me that proper quarters and barracks are much wanted for the officers and troops in this garrison and it being apprehended that the Jesuits College may be fitted up for that purpose. you are hereby authorized and empowered to survey the same calling to your assistance such numbers of tradesmen as you may judge necessary in which survey, regard is to be had to a sufficient number of Fire places and Chimneys, to ascertain with precision the number of officers and private soldiers, the said College will contain, and to make an estimate of the expense that will attend the repairs thereof. And whereas the contractors' provisions, are at present lodged in the said College, other magazines should be found to receive the same, you are, therefore, further empowered to inspect into and survey that building known by the name of the Intendant's Palace and to ascertain also the charge that will attend the fitting up the same to contain the quantity of six thousand barrels. Reporting to me on the back thereof your proceedings upon this warrant which shall be to you, and every of you, sufficient authority.

Given under my hand at Quebec, this 4th day of June, 1765.

(Signed), JAMES MURRAY,

By His Excellency's Command.

Victoria Hall.

Was formerly the church of the Wesleyan congregation. It was built in 1816, in its present plain form. After the construction of the new wesleyan methodist church, in 1848, it was sold to private parties who transformed it into a lecture hall; last year, it was again sold to enterprising gentlemen who repaired and made it a suitable hall for public entertainments. It is situated in Ste. Anne street, nearly opposite the Morrin College.

The Music Hall.

Next to the St. Louis Hotel, St. Lewis street, is certainly one of the finest public halls in the country, and the largest, excepting the Bonsecours Market hall, in Montreal. It can accommodate over 1,500 sitters, and the repairs made this year by the proprietor, Mr. Willis Russell, have made it undoubtedly one of the most perfect halls for theatricals that can be found in Canada and the United States. It is now provided with all the improvements of the European theatres. Besides the main hall, there are spacious and splendidly furnished rooms where, during the interactes, gentlemen can read the newspapers, and meet friends, &c.

This Music Hall was built in 1852, by a joint stock company and purchased these last years by Mr. Russell, the enterprising proprietor of the St. Louis and Russell hotels. The front is adorned by a rich colonnade which gives a good architectural appearance in the edifice.

The Exchange.

Under early French rule, commerce in Quebec was closed to private individuals; none except the powerful French companies, with very exclusive charters, could buy or sell goods, &c. Later, on the 11th May 1717, the French Monarch by an *arrêt*, permitted the Merchants of Quebec and Montreal to form an Exchange; the mercantile community had a representative in the *Syndic des Marchands*.

No Exchange (Bourse), existed and in order to meet, and discuss trade, it seems, leave had first to be obtained from the Intendant.

The first Exchange dates from 1816 and held its first meeting in the lower story of the old Neptune Inn—(the building is the same now occupied by the *Morning Chronicle*). In 1822, it removed to a room in the edifice erected by the FIRE ASSURANCE COMPANY, in St. Peter street. The ground on which the present Exchange is built, was a water lot purchased in June 1828—containing ten thousand superficial feet. The honorable Mathew Bell, from whom the site was purchased, gave, as his subscription to the undertaking, a fifth part of the purchase money—his donation amounting to two hundred pounds. The public

1 (From *Quebec Gazette* of the 12th December 1816.)

"At a meeting of the Board of Green Cloth held at the Neptune Inn.

Quebec, 5th December, 1816.

John Wm. Woolsey in the chair.—It was unanimously decided to establish a Merchants' Exchange in the lower part of the Neptune Inn, &c., (then follow the resolutions.) Subscription to be, two guineas per annum.

On motion of Jno. Jones, Esq., resolved that the following gentlemen do form a committee of management.

Thos. Edward Brown, James Heath, George Symes, John W. Woolsey and Robert Melvin."

spirit of the projectors of this undertaking was commendable and liberally supported by the public. One thousand pounds was soon subscribed to erect the building, and with the income arising from annual subscriptions to the reading room, no difficulty was found in raising the funds necessary for its completion. The first stone was laid with masonic ceremonies on the 6th September, 1828.

The edifice is situated at the east end of St. Paul street; the proprietors were incorporated on the 6th September, 1828. The ground floor was intended for an Exchange: ¹ the second story for a Reading room; it is fifty feet long, thirty broad and sixteen in height.

The Trinity House.

"This is a corporate establishment for the due regulation of the Pilots who ply in the River St. Lawrence, and for their charitable support after they are disabled by age, accident or infirmity. There is also a fund for the relief of their widows and children. It is governed by a master, deputy master, and wardens, who are generally merchants of Quebec. The business of the corporation is transacted in a house in St. Peter street, not far from the Quebec Exchange.

This establishment was, no doubt, founded in imitation of similar institutions in England. In the reign of Henry VIII, certain officers were incorporated by the name of Master and Wardens of the Holy Trinity: "they were to take care of the building, keeping and conducting of the Royal Navy." This corporation had a foundation at Deptford, in Kent, containing fifty-nine houses for decayed pilots and masters of ships, or the widows of such; and the men were allowed twenty, and the women sixteen shillings per month. There is also a noble establishment of this kind at Hull, in Yorkshire."

This is one of the most ancient corporations in the city.

The first appointments dates from 6th May, 1805, as follows:

John Young, Master; Wm. Grant, Deputy; John Painter, Hon. Mathew Bell, François Bourbeau, Alex. Auldjo, François Desrivières, James Caldwell, Wardens; Wm. Lindsay, Registrar.

After lasting seventy years, rendering invaluable services to navigation, it expired by act of Parliament on the 31st December, 1875.

It had for secretary, for years, Errol-Boyd Lindsay, Esq.; Alexander LeMoine, Esq., its late secretary-treasurer, on the 31st December, 1875, surrendered an important trust held by him for nearly forty years.

¹ The North Shore Railway Contractors have leased it for their Office.

The Quebec Fire Assurance Company.

In the early part of the year 1816, a few private individuals assembled in the lower-town and agreed to raise a joint-stock for the purpose of indemnifying each other against casualties by fire. This mutual insurance—a good idea—was too limited to be of general use. Until that period, in order to insure against risks by fire, it was necessary to apply to offices, established beyond the seas. On the 2nd April 1818, by deed *sous seing privé*, it was decided to open to the public at large, the subscription to the joint-stock and establish a company to insure property, in Upper as well as in Lower Canada. Bills of incorporation were consequently introduced in Parliament, but owing to the insufficiency of their provisions when referred to England, they were not confirmed. In 1826, a new Bill was framed and in March 1828, the act of incorporation, so long looked for, was obtained and the company acknowledged a Public Body.

Both nationalities seemed to have joined in this project. The charter contains amongst others, the following well-known names : Anthony Anderson, Henry Atkinson, George Arnold, Peter Burnet, Amable Berthelot, M. P. P., Hon. Matthew Bell, Louis Theodore Besserer, Pierre Boisseau, Jean Bélanger, François Buteau, James Burns, Wm. Budden, Jas. Clarihue, Chs. Campbell, Archd. Campbell, Thos. Cary, Geo. Chapman, Andrew W. Cochran, John Greaves Clapham, John Cannon, M. P. P., Martin Chinic, Chs. Eusèbe Casgrain, François Durette, P. Ed. Desbarats, Chevalier Robt. A. d'Estimauxville, Amable Dionne, Michel Louis Juchereau Duchesnay, Jean Fortin, Thomas Fargues, M. D., Capt. Noah Freer, Hammond Gowen, James George, Frederick Glackemeyer, James Hunt, Dr. W. Holmes, Wm. Hossack, Rob. Haddan, Gilbert Henderson, George Henderson, Gordian Horan, Hughes Henry, M. P. P., Wm. Kewe, Thos. Lloyd, Marc Pascal de Sales Laterrière, Jacques Leblond, Henry Lemesurier, Louis Massue, John Macnider, Adam Lymburner Macnider, John Musson, James L. Murette, Daniel McPherson, L. T. McPherson, Colin McCallum, Fred. Petry, John Neilson, M. P. P., Philippe Panet, William Patton, Wm. Petry, James Ross, William Sheppard, Chs. Grey Stewart, Hon. John Stewart, Hon. Lt. Col. Charles de Salaberry, Benjamin Tremain, J. Rémi Vallières de St. Réal, M. P. P., Robert Wood, &c.

It is a pleasing spectacle now to look back to this array of names representing different nationalities all working harmoniously for the general good.

The company was to be managed by fifteen directors; the stock limited to £250,000 of shares of £100 each. The curious clause constituting the Secretary perpetual, caused no discussion at the time.

The Quebec Bank.

Of the local Banks now in existence in Quebec, one only may be said to have its roots in the soil of the Past, the Quebec Bank. As early as 1808. the expediency of establishing a bank in Quebec, was discussed in the House of Assembly. Several objections were then urged, and discussions ensued ; some of which tried by the standard of to-day, appear curious and many, scarcely credible.

A meeting of Quebec Merchants, took place in the Quebec Exchange, then held in Sault-au-Matelot street, on the 8th July 1818, to form a banking association with a capital not to exceed £150,000, for a period of twenty years.

The bank was organized on the 7th September 1818, and the following gentlemen, elected Directors by the stockholders :

John William Woolsey, merchant. Jean Langevin, dry goods merchant.
J. McCallum, Jr., merchant.

John Jones, Jr., merchant. P. A. DeGaspé, sheriff, Quebec.

Charles Smith, merchant and contractor for army supplies of pro- John Goudie, shipbuilder.

visions. E. Claude Lagueur, dry goods

Louis Massue, dry goods merchant. merchant.

Henry Black, ship owner. Benj. Tremain, merchant.

John William Woolsey, Esq., was chosen President, and Thos. White, Vice-President ; the Board conferred the appointment of Cashier on Noah Freer, Esq.¹

In the absence of an " Act of Incorporation," no doubt the shareholders incurred that peculiarly desirable position for Depositors, called unlimited liability : application was then made for a Charter. An " Act of Incorporation," to remain in force until 1st August 1831, and passed by our Parliament in March 1819, was assented to by His Majesty George IV, on 16th September 1822. At the expiration of the " Act of Incorporation " the Charter was further extended by Act of Parliament to the 1st August 1836, by a subse-

¹ The above Barons of the Bank parlour represented a strong, respectable Board of experienced business men ; and the Chief executive officer, Capt. Freer, who had served with distinction in the army, having been under arms, viz : at the Reconnaissance at Fort George, Niagara, in August 1813, at the Battle of Chateaugay in 1813 (for which he had the honor of receiving a medal,) and at the battle of Plattsburgh, September 1814, was a gentleman of standing in society ; and although he had had no training as a Banker, his natural intelligence, industrious habits and honourable conduct secured to him a tenure of thirty-four years of the important office of Cashier. Under a trained Banker, this old established bank would probably have become the leading monetary Institution of the Province. Accounts were kept in it by His Excellency, the Commander in Chief, the Lord Bishop and all the most respected men of business in the city ; it had for its legal adviser that distinguished Jurist and statesman, the late Andrew Stuart, Q. C., and for a long time member for the city ; he on several occasions of difficulty appears to have steadied the Directors and the cashier in their course and guided the Bank into a harbour of safety.

quent act, the Charter was further extended to 1st June 1837. That year, constitutional Government was suspended for a time, in consequence of the disturbed State of the Province and with that suspension, the powers, and rights of the Quebec Bank. The Directors were quite at a loss what course to pursue under the circumstance; so they determined to wind up the bank and took steps accordingly, reducing the business and providing for the return of the capital to the stockholders. Political disturbances having been quelled, the demands of trade soon induced them to think better of their course and in the absence of Parliamentary authority, it was determined to apply to the Imperial Government for a Royal Charter. The able Cashier, Mr. Noah Freer, was requested to proceed to England to place himself in communication with the Home Government on the subject. A Royal Charter was granted, also authorizing the Directors to apply to the Provincial Parliament for a renewal of their old Charter. By the Provincial Act 32 Vict., Cap. CXXVII, "An Act to amend and consolidate the acts forming the Charter of the Quebec, the origin of the Bank is assumed to be the Royal Charter of His late Majesty, William IV; the Charter was renewed to the 1st of January 1870. The authorized capital is increased to £750,000, and the number of Directors limited to seven. The Royal Charter of the Quebec Bank was last renewed under the Act relating to Banks and Banking (34 Vict., Cap. I,) and is thereby extended to the 1st July 1881.

The management of this flourishing institution has been, since 1864, committed to James Stevenson, Esquire. The present building as a Bank, the handsomest in the city, was erected in 1863, by Ed. Staveley, Esquire, architect, at a cost of \$60,000.

La Banque Nationale.

The creation of *La Banque Nationale* in Quebec—the foundation of *La Banque du Peuple*, in Montreal, represent an era in the commercial history of both cities. Expansion of trade, here gave rise to the first institution; the existing banking accommodation being considered insufficient. The idea of founding this bank originated with the directors of the *Caisse d'Economie de Notre-Dame de Québec*, in 1856. On 22nd Dec. 1858, pursuant to a requisition, 1 they

1 E. Chinic, C. Tétu, O. Thibaudeau, U. O. Tessier, D. Dussault, O. Robitaille, M. D., Isaac Dorion, A. Hamel and F. Vézina, H. L. Langevin, M. Tessier, Dr. Baillargeon, C. Cinq-Mars, T. Ledroit, N. Germain, A. Fortin, F. Gourdeau, F. Lavoie, A. B. Sirois, O. Langlois, Dr. Rinfret, F. Buteau, A. N. Verret, F. Thibaudeau, O. B. Dubeau, N. Faucher, F. L. Langevin, A. Hamel, O. B. Fréchette, F. O. Boisvert, Ls. Amiot, F. Vézina, L. E. Blais, O. Giroux, Alex. LeMoine, J. B. Pruneau, N. Casault, F. O. Latulippe, P. Chateauvert, O. Richard, E. Gaboury, Ls. Larose, O. S. Barthe, Z. Chartre, S. Darveau, E. Michon, O. Landry, C. Tétu, V. Tétu, S. Roberge, O. B. Morissette, C. Huot, S. Matte, F. Evanturel, L. J. C. Fiset, J. D. Brousseau, P. Gauvreau.

and their friends held a meeting at the office of the Savings Bank, to forward the plan. The charter was obtained in 1859—the capital subscribed for, \$1,000,000, and a board of directors elected in April 1860. First board: E. Chinic, U. J. Tessier, I. Thibauudeau, Dr. Ol. Robitaille, Cirice Têtu, P. Vallée, and A. Joseph. The present capital is \$2,000,000. This Bank's expansion, success and extensive business is too well-known to require special mention. It has, with the exception of A. Joseph, Esq., replaced by Henry Atkinson, Esq., the same board of directors it had sixteen years ago. Mr. Joseph left it to take the presidency of the Stadacona Bank. One of the most energetic of its founders, François Vézina, Esquire, was unanimously chosen as the manager of the new bank, in 1860, and has continued ever since; with his successful management, is associated, its rise, stability and present prosperity.

By recently purchasing and building on, the lot adjoining, jointly with La Caisse d'Economie Notre-Dame de Québec, it has doubled its local. Last summer, the new building being finished, it was decided to adorn suitably its interior; the task was confided to able artists; the results, we find thus alluded to in the city Press:

"The refining influences of art surroundings cannot be overrated, and they are made apparent in the magnificent collection of paintings, medallions and ornaments which have been placed on the interior walls of the Bank by Mr. J. Weston, portrait painter and artist, of Montreal. Upon entering the building and looking upwards, will be seen on the panel of the ceiling a large painting representing the Arms of Quebec, with the motto, *Natura fortis, industria crescit*. The female figure is that of a beautiful young woman, classically attired, gazing towards the heights of Quebec, the broad pellucid waters of the St. Lawrence intervening; a beaver at her feet is gnawing his busy way through a large trunk of a tree. Around this prominent central picture, there are six medallions, containing very picturesque and allegorical subjects taken from the well-known designs to be found on the notes of various values issued by the Bank. The sketches which look so well on the paper are reproduced in a masterly manner by Mr. Weston. Choice, well assorted and vigorous colouring give a special charm to these figures; there is the man with the sheaf of corn, and the horse looking over his shoulder in the expectation of a nibble; two graceful female figures, as reapers, with sickles in their hands. A splendid painting of a handsome sailor, is seen on their \$4 bills. The left hand panel contains a large painting taken from the river and looks towards the Cape, embracing the quay to and from which innumerable steamers and sailing ships are leaving and arriving. It

is a glorious sunset, and from behind the precipitous heights upon which are seen the grim, gray Citadel walls, the opalescent rays are shooting like a gorgeous halo tinted with every delicate variety of prismatic coloring; the changing hues of the reflective ripple of the breeze; the stirred waters are also rendered with great naturalness and effect. The companion panel-picture on the right hand side of the building is historical, and represents Jacques-Cartier viewing Quebec for the first time. It is life-like; the bronzed face of the hardy discoverer is lit up with a glow of anticipating delight at having, at length, found a suitable haven for his frail craft. He grasps the tiller that has guided them to this safe and magnificent harbour, and points out to the surrounding crew the unrivalled position and accommodation it affords. Four medallions are placed, one at each corner of this work of art, illustrative of the lives of the Indian inhabitants at that period. Again, upon raising the eyes to the ceiling, immediately over the counters, the Dominion coat of arms surrounded by four exquisite portraits of those heroes—Jacques-Cartier, Wolfe, Champlain and Montcalm. Over the walls of the safes, the doors of which are painted in excellent imitation of Jasper marble and surrounded with embossed, gilded ironwork, there are two pictures representing the staple imports of Canada, showing the bush life and the fields of golden grain, as well as the large vessels through whose ports thousands of feet of valuable timber is being shipped. Another striking picture is one showing a group of ship-wrecked sailors, sitting by a jagged remnant of a spar and earnestly gazing out on to the mad sea waves, which are tumbling in foamy fury on the beach at their feet. Great taste, capability of design and originality of treatment are distinctive in Mr. Weston's productions; for instance, the smooth velvety sheen in the alternate panels around the walls, imitating green damask or the glittering polish of the marble, are the very *chefs-d'œuvre* of a painter's art, and the Banque Nationale can congratulate itself upon being an Art Gallery, in addition to a well-founded and excellent monetary institution. We congratulate them on this and thank Mr. Weston for having so tastefully embellished one of our leading Quebec banking houses."

Union Bank of Lower Canada.

With a view of furnishing increased banking facilities in the city the want of which was felt by the commercial community, this institution was established during the summer of 1865; a very active interest in its promotion, being taken by Charles E. Levey, Esq., one of our leading merchants, then about retiring from mercantile life, who, with other merchants, undertook the establishing of this institution.

A charter was obtained from Parliament, on the 18th September, 1865; Capital \$2,000,000, \$1,000,000 to be subscribed, and \$100,000 paid up before commencing business; this was rapidly accomplished, upon books being opened. A meeting was held on the 13th December, 1865, the Hon. J. Cauchon in the Chair, when the following Board of Directors were appointed, viz: Messrs. Charles E. Levey, Thomas McGreevy, Geo. Irvine, Q. C., G. H. Simard, W. Rhodes, Edward Poston, and Siméon Lelièvre; at the next meeting the directors, nominated Chs. E. Levey and Thos. McGreevy respectively, President and Vice-President.

Active operations were commenced on the 14th December, 1865, with Mr. William Dunn, as Cashier. Ill health having compelled Mr. Dunn to resign his office, the present manager, Mr. Peter MacEwen, who was appointed originally at the Branch office, at Montreal, was promoted as cashier, to conduct its extensive business at Quebec. The building originally occupied was leased from the Richelieu Navigation Company; it was soon found insufficient for its banking operations, as a larger staff was required for the increase of its business, having a Savings Bank also attached, at which a considerable business was done and the deposits very large. On the 1st May, 1875, the Bank not only purchased the property then leased from the Richelieu Company, but also acquired the adjoining lot; it enabled them to erect the splendid banking house which the Institution at present occupies, not only having ample accommodation for the main offices and the Savings Bank, but extra offices leased to different tenants at a rental of about £700 per annum. It stands on the corner of St. Peter and Des Sœurs streets; the plans were prepared by Messrs. Hopkins and Wiley, of Montreal, and the work carried out under the survey of Mr. Henry Staveley, of Quebec, architect.

Stadacona Bank.

This monetary institution was incorporated in 1873, on an authorised capital of \$1,000,000. Subscription books were opened 10th Oct. 1873. The following were the provisional Directors:

Hon. P. Garneau, M. P. P., Chairman, Adolphe P. Caron, Esq., M. P., Messrs. William Drum, S. B. Foote, T. H. Grant, Norbert Germain, J. W. Henry, John Laird, Ad. G. Tourangeau.

Subsequently, A. Joseph, Esq., was elected President, and W. R. Dean, Esq., Cashier.

The Bank opened for business on 9th March, 1874, in the building in St. Peter street, formerly occupied by the Bank of Upper Canada.

Capital subscribed 9th March, 1874, \$591,500. Paid, \$133,700.

“ “ 31st “ 1876, \$1,000,000 Paid, \$971,330.

THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, 1824.

Officers for 1876.

President,—James Stevenson, Esq.
 1st Vice-President,—Col. Strange.
 2nd do R. S. M. Bouchette, Esq.
 3rd do H. S. Scott, Esq.
 4th do Doctor W. Boswell.
 Treasurer.—William Hossack, Esq.
 Librarian,—R. MacLeod, Esq.
 Recording Secretary,—Cyrille Tessier, Esq.
 Corresponding Secretary,—W. Clint, Esq.
 Council Secretary,—A. Robertson, Esq.
 Curator of the Museum,—J. M. LeMoine, Esq.
 Curator of Apparatus,—Capt. Ashe.

Additional members of the Council.—J. Whitehead, Revd. H. D. Powis, J. F. Belleau, Edwin Pope, Esquires.

INSTITUT CANADIEN, 1848.

OFFICERS FOR 1876.

Hon. P. J. O. Chauveau,—*Honorary President*.
 Ed. Rémillard, Esq.,—*President*.
 J. O. Tousignant, Esq., } *Vice-Presidents*.
 J. O. Fontaine, Esq., }
 L. P. Vallée, Esq.,—*Treasurer*.
 Chs. Joncas, Esq.,—*Assistant-Treasurer*.
 H. J. J. B. Chouinard, Esq.,—*Recording Secretary*.
 P. M. A. Genest, Esq., } *Assistant Recording Secretaries*.
 Arthur Vallée, Esq., }
 H. A. Turcotte, Esq.,—*Corresponding Secretary*.
 Adolphe Hamel, Esq., } *Assistant Corresponding Secretaries*.
 Thomas Roy, Esq., }
 Louis P. Turcotte, Esq.,—*Librarian*.
 Victor Bélanger, Esq.,—*Curator of Museum*.

Board of Directors.

The President ; Vice-President ; Treasurer ; Recording Secretary ; Corresponding Secretary ; Librarian ; Curator of Museum ; Mgr. Ca-zeau ; M. le Curé de Québec ; M. l'abbé L. N. Begin ; Hon. P. Garneau, M. P. P. ; P. B. Casgrain, M. P. ; Ph. J. Jolicœur ; T. Ledroit ; L. J. C. Fiset ; Jean Blanchet ; D. J. Montambault ; T. E. Roy ; Chs. Joncas ; Alexis Gariépy ; J. F. Belleau ; Arthur Vallée ; P. M. A. Genest.

The Quebec Press, 1764—1876.

- " *Quebec Gazette*, 21 June 1764. *Le Fantasque*, 19 Nov. 1857.
Courrier de Quebec, 24 Nov. 1788. *The Vindicator*, December 1857.
The Quebec Herald, 24 Nov. 1788. *Le Gascon*, 3 March 1858.
The Quebec Herald, 26 Nov. 1788. *L'Observateur*, 9 March 1858.
Quebec Daily Mercury, 5 Jny. 1805. *La Citadelle*, 3 April 1858.
Le Canadien, 22 Nov. 1806. *The Quebec Herald*, 5 May 1858.
Courier de Québec, 3 Janry. 1807. *Le Charivari*, 10 May 1858.
Le Vrai Canadien, 7 March 1810. *Le Chicot*, 1858.
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Le Telegraph, 1820. *The Gridiron*, 23 July 1859.
La Sentinelle, 1822. *La Réforme*, 9 June 1860.
Gazette Patriotique, 12 July 1823. *Littérateur Canadien*, 26 Sep. 1860.
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Le Electeur, 16 July 1827. *Quebec Daily News*, May 1862.
The Star, 5 December 1827. *Le Grognaud*, 27 September 1862.
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The Telegraph, 7 March 1837. *L'Echo des Imbéciles*, 26 July 1863.
The Morning Herald, 25 April 1837. *La Tribune*, 23 August 1863.
Le Liberal, 17 June 1837. *La Scie*, 29 October 1863.
Le Fantasque, August 1837. *The Dagger*, 2 November 1863.
The Literary Transcript, 13 Janry 1838. *La Mascarade*, 14 November 1863.
The Quebec Transcript, 16 January 1839. *La Lime*, 18 November 1863.
Journal des Etudiants, 1841. *La Semaine*, 2 January 1864.
L'Institut, 7 March 1841. *The Arrow*, 6 April 1864.
British North American, 10 May 1841. *L'Eclair*, September 1864.
Le Quebec Argus, 3 Nov. 1841. *La Scie Illustrée*, 11 Feb. 1865.
L'Artisan, 5 October 1842. *L'Organe de la Milice*, 17 April 1865.
The Standard, 29 November 1842. *The Stadacona Punch*, 20 May 1865.
Le Journal de Québec, 1 Dec. 1842. *The Sprite*, 7 June 1865.
The Quebec Herald, 19 Oct. 1843. *Le Progrès*, 6 September 1865.
Le Castor, 7 November 1843. *Gazette du Commerce et de l'Industrie*, 12 May 1866.
Quebec Times, 10 February 1844. *L'Electeur*, 19 May 1866.
The Bercan, 4 April 1844. *The Comet*, 27 October 1866.
Freeman's Journal, 7 June 1844. *The Telegraph*, 1st May 1867.
Le Menestrel, 20 June 1844. *L'Événement*, 15 May 1867.
Commercial Courrier 23 Jan. 1845. *L'Echo du Peuple*, 1st June 1867.
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Morning Chronicle, 18 May 1847. *Saturday Review*, 14 Nov. 1868.
L'Ami de la Religion et de la Patrie, 18 December 1847. *L'Opinion Nationale*, 3 May 1870.
The Quebec Spectator, 3 May 1848. *The Saturday Budget*, 12 Nov. 1870.
The Emigrant, 25 May 1848. *L'Opinion du Peuple*, 8 April 1871.
L'Abeille, October 1848. *Irish Sentinel*, 8 February 1872.
Canadien Indépendant, May 1849. *The Irish Citizen*, July 1872.
La Sentinelle du Peuple, 26 March 1850. *L'Espérance*, 28 September 1872.
L'Ordre Social, 28 March 1850. *L'Echo de la Session*, Nov. 1872.
L'Ouvrier, 6 May 1851. *The Daily Telegraph*, May 1874.
La Voix du Peuple, 26 Dec. 1851. *Le Cultivateur*, 3 Sept. 1874.
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The Observer, 30 March 1854. *The Daily Telegraph*, 8 Nov. 1875.
L'Indépendant, 1st July 1854. *The Northern Star*, 20 Nov. 1875.
Le National, 20 November 1855. *The Quebec Star*, 27 Nov. 1875.
Military Gazette, 17 January 1857. *La Volonté*, 1st March 1876.
Le Courrier du Canada, 1st Feb. 1857. *Le Figaro*, 10 March 1876.
La Citadelle, 9 May 1857. *Le Reveil*, 20 May 1876.

Population and Area of Quebec.

“ The population of Quebec has regularly increased : it numbered 60 persons in 1620,—7,000 in 1720,—9,000 in 1759,—19,880 in 1816,—20,396 in 1825,—25,916 in 1831,—40,000 in 1848,—42,053 in 1852,—59,990 in 1861 and 59,699 in 1871. The decrease during this last decade is, in fact, only apparent and more than accounted for by the removal of the imperial troops and Government officials in 1865 and 1870.

“ According to nationality, ²our population is divided as follows : french canadians 3,974, irish 12,345, scotch 1,861 dutch 8, italians 69, jews 15, russians 29, scandinavians 48, spanish 20, welch 24, swiss 8, germans 334, africans 12, indians 2, various origins 13, and origin not given 47. According to *faiths*, it is thus divided :—roman catholics 52,357, anglicans 4,059, baptists 166, jewish 81, lutherians 29, congregational 130, adventists 7, methodists 794, presbyterians 1,613, protestants of various creeds 373. Of the churches in the city there are :—1 baptist, 9 roman catholic, 4 anglican, 1 methodist, 2 presbyterian and one for congregationalists.

The *benevolent institutions* are enumerated as follows:—5 hospitals with 450 inmates, 4 orphanages with 278 inmates, 1 general asylum with 64 inmates, besides the Beauport Lunatic Asylum with 830 inmates. Of *educational institutions*, there are six colleges and universities frequented by 372 pupils, 6 boarding schools for young ladies frequented by 875 pupils. The common schools of the city are attended by 10,245 children. As to *illiterate*, 6,283 are unable to read and 8,821 unable to write. Our population includes 49 deaf and dumb and 51 blind persons. In 1870 the number of births was 1,786 and the number of deaths 1,119." (*Langelier's Guide Book* 1874.)

The city comprises about ten original *concessions*, or seigniorial domains—strips of land running generally from east to west. Until 1854, when the Seigniorial Tenure Act abolished the *lods et ventes*, &c., the sale of real estate in the city was subject to a seigniorial impost equal to one twelfth of the price, payable to the seigniors. Government capitulated these revenues, compensating in a fixed sum each seignior; this indemnity was paid over in 1875.

The chief *Fiefs* are the *Fief du Saulx-au-Matelot*, belonging to the Quebec Seminary. The Ursulines, the *Fabrique*, the heirs Larue, the *Hôtel-Dieu*, the Recollets, had each their Domains. The Fief of Cape Diamond and another belonging to the *Fabrique Notre-Dame*. The Fiefs Becancour and Villeraye are owned by the heirs Larue. There is also the Fief Sasseville. The *Recollets* Fief is now vested in the Crown.

"The area comprised within the city limits is 7,386 acres. The number of *houses* (in 1874), is 8,302, of which 7,941 are inhabited and 361 not inhabited, besides 106 building. The inhabitants of these houses form 12,264 *families*. The *male* population is 27,962 and the *female* 31,737.—It must be observed that all the above figures on the population, schools, dwellings, &c., of Quebec are compiled from the last census of Canada, taken in April 1870, or over four years ago." (*Langelier's Guide Book*, 1874.)

MARKETS.

Upper Town Market.

A very old market place in the city, was that held until 1844, on the square between the Basilica and the Jesuits Barracks. It dates back to about 1686. In 1844, on the site of the Jesuit Church, Garden street, were opened the range of stalls still in existence—in a one story wooden building. It is likely, this summer, to be superceded by the new market contracted for outside of St. John's Gate.

Finlay Market.

At the beginning of the century a wealthy citizen, Mr. Finlay left to his native city a legacy to improve its roads and highways; it was, we were told, diverted from its object, after his death and the site of the small Lower Town Market purchased with the proceeds—hence its name of Finlay Market. Previous to that and in fact until recently, the diminutive square in front of the church *Notre-Dame des Victoires*, lower town, was the market: the site on which stood previously Champlain's warehouse, was conceded in 1687, by Denonville, for the Church—"it being too narrow to build on it, a King's warehouse." On the 25 Sept. 1708, the French King made an ordinance¹ compelling sellers to bring their produce on the Lower Town market for sale, all except "eels," which might be sold, on board the boats, &c. These two markets having been found totally insufficient in the requisite accommodation, the City Council decided in 1854, to cover over with wharves the open space heretofore so useful to the river craft and for repairing wrecked vessels, on account of the soft muddy beach—between the King's and the Napoleon wharf. Though this scheme deprived the city of a much valued harbour, the *Cul-de-Sac*, it presented a splendid site for a vast market, and wharves for the growing steam fleet of the neighboring localities.

Champlain Market.

The Parliament Buildings having been destroyed by fire in 1854, and there being incessant bickering in those days, as to where Parliament was to sit permanently, the Corporation of the city managed to secure for the trifling sum of \$100, the cut stone materials, composing the walls of this once gorgeous pile. The stone alone was worth several thousand of pounds; it was hurried down to the Lower Town and procured with work for the laboring class, the largest market Hall in the city; it now stands with its stately colonnade facing the Terminus of the Grand Trunk Ferry and numerous stalls, shops and warehouses—the cheapest building in Quebec. Being in the vicinity of the spot where Champlain had spent twelve of the most eventful years of his life, it was called after him CHAMPLAIN MARKET.

St. Paul's Market.

The site of this market was acquired from the Ordnance Officers in 1831. It is used chiefly as a hay, cattle and wood market; the monthly Fair of horses, cows, etc., is held there in summer. Its hall was burnt down in 1843 and rebuilt of wood; it has no pretention to

¹ 1 EDITS ET ORDONNANCES, Vol. III, P. 425.

beauty of design and accommodates, but a limited number of butchers. It adjoins the jetty built in 1730 by the French Government, to form a harbour for the protection of the small river craft, conveying to the city, wood, hay, stone, lime and other produce. Of this jetty, the construction of the adjoining long wharf and Gas works have left no trace.

The Berthelot Market.

A small market hall built about 1840 for the accommodation of the residents of the suburbs, on land belonging to the late Amable Berthelot d'Artigny, for a long time one of our distinguished city members.

The New St. John's Gate Market.

This is in process of construction and will be on a grand scale.

The Jacques Cartier Market.

Near the St. Roch Church, on Crown street, there is large white brick building, two stories high, dating from 1856 or thereabouts. The lower story is used for butchers stalls and the other is a public hall for lectures, theatrical representations, &c., capable of seating 2000. It is a neat looking edifice and has been newly decorated.

The Old and the New Jail.

1810.

GEORGIO III.—CRAIG GUB.

"Carcer iste bonos a pravis vindicare possit!"
May this prison separate the wicked from the good!

In 1810, under the reign of "Little King Craig," a massive stone structure was erected with a yard well walled in, on St. Ann street, facing St. Andrew's school house. When finished, it cost £15,000 and was occupied as a jail for the first time in 1814. It is recorded in Hawkins, that on the site on which it stood, there appeared to be a species of fort, the ruins of which were still visible at the beginning of the century, though we find no allusion to it in Canadian annals.¹

¹ Champlain, in 1608, being at a loss for a lock-up at Quebec, sent down to Tadousac the murderous locksmith Jean Duval, from whence he was brought up for trial and execution at the foot of Mountain Hill, as stated at page 4, of this volume. Later on, prison accommodation was doubtless found in the cells of Fort St. Louis, the only structure secure against foreign or domestic assault. The Fort, quite distinct from the Castle St. Louis, looms out with its bastions and embrasures, on the plan of the city for 1664, published by abbé Faillon. When the Intendant held his court, in 1674, in his Palace, facing the Palais Harbor, the place must have been provided

For half a century the latin inscription, with date above quoted, ornamented the main entrance, and was a deep subject of thought to every latin school boy of the city; that mysterious point of exclamation! closing it, being more particularly dwelt on. The inscription has disappeared before the march of modern intellect, as well as the fatal gallery on which Charland—the Monarques—Meehan, and dozens of other criminals once stood, before wafting their last adieu to the gaping crowd—"Morituri, te salutant." A narrow door led to the fatal balcony provided with a pulley, a transverse beam and drop. No trace whatever to recall the memories of the Quebec Talbooth; nothing, except the well preserved and still very legible initials on the walls or floor of the prison cells, in the basement: all of which in the north wing, remain with their dreary reminiscences of the impecunious debtor, the felon and convicted murderer. One cell has been modernised and fitted up for the reception of the M S S and antiquarian and historical treasures of the *Literary and Historical Society*—the Lessee of that wing of the old Talbooth.

Have we no "Old Mortality" to pluck from those sombre cases, materials "to point a moral and adorn a tale"? There are

with a lock-up, since we read in abbé Faillon's work, of the incarceration therein of that refractory abbé de Fencelon, a brother of the famous archbishop of Cambrai, detained for trial. In August, 1674, the abbé was tried for having preached a violent sermon at Easter, against the excessive *corvées* (forced labor), ordered by Governor de Frontenac, to build Fort Cataraquy. He appeared before court with his hat on; and when told to remove it, thrust it on deeper, recusing the tribunal. Ultimately the King set matters to rights. This early Quebec jail stood in the Intendance, built on the site of the brewery previously established there by Talon. Subsequently, cells were provided in the French Barracks, erected about 1750, near Palace Gate (the Artillery Barracks,) where public executions also took place, we believe, until the St. Ann street jail was opened in 1814. State delinquents were incarcerated in 1775, the American officers in Dauphine prison, near St. John's Gate, the privates in the Recollets Convent, on Garden street and in the Seminary; Judge Henry was a prisoner here from Jan. 1776, to August of the same year. Pierre DuCalvet, the restless agitator, was immured in the Recollets Convent-cells three years (1779-1782), with the seditious printers, Meplets and Jotard. David McLane was executed on gallows hill, in 1797. The *Buttes à Neveu*, on the Plains of Abraham, were a place of execution in the earlier French and English times; some of Prince Edward's soldiers were to be shot there for desertion in 1792. The second batch of American State prisoners, including General Winfield Scott, were kept in durance in 1815, in Judge De Bonne's solid old stone house at Beauport and the American sympathisers of 1837, General Theller, Colonel Dodge, and others, were lodged on the Citadel, though not securely.

those yet amongst us who can recollect a sheep stealer, Ducharme, in April 1827, giving before the multitude his last death struggle in the gripe of the executioner, for sheep stealing. Our criminal code has altered since then ; at present, it requires much interest for a man to be hung in Quebec.

The New Jail.

" Has been constructed from a design prepared by Mr. Charles Bail-
laigé, architect, of Quebec, in conformity with the requirements of the
Prison Inspectors. It is situated on the Plains of Abraham, about
one mile beyond the walls of the city, on a property measuring thirty-
two acres in extent and purchased from J. Bonner, Charles Fitzpatrick,
and Mrs. Widow Codville, at a cost of \$18,500. The site having been
considered objectionable by the military authorities, its construction
was deferred until a later period. This difficulty was afterwards
settled and the contract for the construction was signed by Messrs.
Murphy and Quigley, for a sum of \$64,000. Operations were com-
menced in 1861, suspended in 1864 and completed in 1867, the cost of
building amounted to \$137,932.12, on account of additional works
besides those mentioned in the contract. The prison was handed over
to the sheriff on the first of June 1867.

It now consists, an other wing is to be added, of a central block,
88 by 50 feet, four stories high, an eastern block adjoining this one, of
50 by 48 feet, three stories high ; an east wing, at right angles with
the latter, and in which the cells are constructed, measuring 47 feet
in breadth by 108 in length, and three stories in height ; a wing, with
water closets, of 14 by 26 feet, three stories, on the east side of the
last wing ; and a south wing, or rear extension of the central block,
wherein are located the chapels for the prisoners, measuring 66 by 40
feet, and three stories in height.

In its present unfinished state, this jail contains 138 cells, or one
half of the number contemplated when the building is finished by
the addition of the west wing. There are 70 single and 27 double
cells ; 41 are used for female prisoners. The outside walls are
coursed rock masonry.

This prison is remarkable for its healthiness and good ventilation,
while the spot on which it stands is one of the most beautiful around
Quebec."

Our Ocean Ferry.

One of the greatest advantages with which Quebec is favored during
the summer months, is the facility and regularity of communication
enjoyed by its people with distant European communities. With clock

like precision, at nine a.m. each Saturday, a magnificent Allan Steamer leaves our wharves for Liverpool while several other lines, during the week sail for Glasgow, London, &c.

The wonderful developement which Ocean Steam Navigation has attained since 1853, at Quebec and Montreal, is deserving of some mention. If on one hand, the Allan's can thank Canada for a mail subsidy, on the other Quebec and Montreal may consider themselves fortunate in possessing citizens gifted with such enterprize and indomitable spirit. We clip the following from an English paper :

"The extensive line of oceanic steamers known as the "Allan Line," is alike one of the most important and one of the best known among those that leave Liverpool. Started some twenty years ago as only a very small line, it has since been developed into a fleet of twenty-five of the finest and most improved class of steamers ; and in estimating its importance, it is impossible to overlook its usefulness in the opening up of one of the most beautiful and most fertile of our British territories. Under the present arrangements a mail steamer leaves Liverpool for Quebec and Montreal every Thursday, calling at Londonderry on Fridays to embark passengers and mails ; while other steamers leave for Halifax and Baltimore every alternate Tuesday, calling on the next day at Queenstown. With respect to the first branch of these arrangements it may be stated that the route taken is supposed to be the most eligible for Canada and the Western States, inasmuch as it combines the advantages of the shortest sea passage with speedy inland conveyance ; and with respect to the latter branch, it may also be mentioned that it is the most direct route to the Southern and Central States, and is the mail route for Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and Bermuda. The weekly service between Liverpool and Quebec was commenced in 1859.

On the termination of the war our intercourse with distant countries revived, and from 1859 to the present time the service between Liverpool and Canada has been continued, the Messrs Allan receiving a subsidy from the Canadian Government for carrying the mails. The first vessels built for the purpose were of 1,500 tons gross measurement, but as the trade increased steamers of larger size and capable of greater speed were added. The present fleet consists entirely of screw steamers, nearly all of which were built by one of the most experienced shipbuilding firms on the Clyde. The "Allan" appear, in fact, to have always been favourite ships in the passenger trade. For many years after the commencement of the enterprise, emigration to Canada was comparatively trifling, the colony not then being in such a prosperous condition as now. As we have before stated, the St. Lawrence route to Quebec is the shortest in mileage from port to port, even by the route via Cape Race ; and during the summer months, when the steamers take the route by the Straits of Belle Isle, the distance is still further shortened by about twenty hours. It is, moreover, considered to be

the safer way, in consequence of there being a much less traffic along that route, and at the same time less liability of encountering those dense fogs which interfere so materially with the navigation of some parts of the North American coast. Another—and a very important advantage of this route by Belle Isle is that it is in reality only a six days' journey from the North of Ireland, where the Allan boats call. The remainder of the passage is in comparatively smooth water, and this more especially applies to the homeward journey, because during the first few days passengers have time to become accustomed to the peculiarities of life on board ship, before they get out into the billowy waters of the Atlantic. The route is daily growing in favour with passengers bound for the Western States. In addition to the facilities afforded by the fine chain of lakes, upon which steamers are plying day and night with almost the regularity of those employed on Woodside Ferry, the Grand Trunk and the Great-Western Railway of Canada have their through communications with the Union Pacific Railway to San Francisco.

The success of the Allan Line, in a commercial point of view, would seem to be sufficiently manifest. The *Sardinian*, the latest addition to their fleet, in a vessel of 4,500 tons measurement, and as regards construction and fittings she is an admirable representative of their ocean steam fleet. The Allan Company, it should be observed, were the first to adopt the plan of having flush, or covered decks, to their steamers; a system which has since become almost universally adopted in transatlantic vessels.

Many years before this splendid line of steamers was established, the Allan Company held a leading position as owners of a fine sailing fleet, and even at the present time they have about fifteen vessels engaged in the Canadian and other trades. As showing the rapid growth of their business, it may be mentioned that for the past four or five years a weekly line of steamers has been running between Glasgow and Montreal; that on the Messrs. Inman giving up the contract for conveying the mails between England and Halifax, it was taken up by the Messrs. Allan and is being continued; and that they have recently come to an arrangement with the Newfoundland Government to run steamers monthly, direct to Newfoundland—receiving a subsidy for conveying the mails. Hitherto the Newfoundland mails have gone round via Halifax, but the people of the island very naturally became dissatisfied with an arrangement so unsatisfactory, and their Government have now given expression to their wishes by making a contract with the Messrs. Allan. At the engine works and general repairing shops of the firm in Liverpool, regular employment is given to between 300 and 400 men. The majority of their recent vessels were built by Messrs. Robert Steele and Co., Greenock, a firm well known as builders, of some of the finest yachts and China clippers afloat. In the construction of the Allan boats, the same symmetry and elegance which have been introduced into vessels of the class named are apparent, and as seaworthy, rapid, and, comfortable passengers steamers, they are unsurpassed.

The following is a complete list of the fleet of Steamships and Sailing Vessels at present belonging to the Allan Line.

STEAMSHIPS.

NAME.	Gross Tonnage.	Net Tonnage.	Horse Power Nominal.	Cabin accommo- dation for passengers.
Sardinian	4500	2577	675	120
Circassian	4000	2023	675	120
Polynesian	4000	2023	675	120
Sarmatian	3646	2159	650	100
Moravian	3323	2013	500	100
Peruvian	3270	2223	500	100
Scandinavian	2840	1811	500	100
Prussian	2794	1775	500	90
Austrian	2750	1864	450	75
Nestorian	2465	1676	450	115
Hibernian	2752	1725	400	80
Nova Scotian	3305	2081	400	80
Canadian	2400	1531	280	50
Caspian	2727	1717	400	80
Manitoban	2394	1542	300	25
Waldensian	2255	1407	250	25
Phoenician	2356	1484	250	25
Corinthian	1517	959	165	25
Acadian	931	596	100	
Newfoundland	900	550	100	40
Rocket	350	250	100	
Meteor } Tenders..... {	250	150	75	
Mersey }	227	51	20	
Mattawan	350	275	75	
Nipigon	350	275	75	

SAILING VESSELS.

		Register	Tonnage.
Iron.	Glendruil	1850	
	Strathearn	1704	
	Strathblane	1363	
	Ravenscrag	1229	
	Pomona	1097	
	Abeona	980	
	Glenbervie	790	
	Gleniffer	790	
	St. Patrick	992	
	City of Montreal	1187	
Wood.	Chippewa	1096	
	Cairngorm	1016	
	Medora	781	
	Cherokee	652	

MEMO.—Above list is corrected to April 1876.

The Levis Steam Winter Ferry.

Until 1857, canoes in winter were the only conveyances for passengers, from the city to Levis, when the ice bridge was not taken; small steamers had, however, for several years previous superseded the horse boats of the *ancien régime*, during the summer months; there was one point about these wondrous conveyances which passengers in a hurry to reach either side, had to bear in mind. The Levis boat, leaving Barras' or McKenzie's wharf, if the wind was westerly and strong and the ebb set in, instead of reaching the lower-town in five minutes as at present, had a fair chance of drifting down to the Island of Orleans, and landing freight and passengers an hour after starting. In vain the horse-boats tried to hold their own against steam; one after another had to succumb; the last gave up the ghost about 1845. 'T was a mercy to the passengers as well as to the horses.

Some times, though seldom, crossing in canoes in winter was attended by fatal accidents, the *Quebec Gazette*, contains the following:

"*Melancholy accident—sixteen lives lost*—" Yesterday morning (12th February 1839), a canoe, belonging to Mr. Chabot, in attempting to cross over from Point Levis, with passengers, was upset by the floating ice in the river, by which sixteen out of the twenty, were drowned.

The name of the person who was piloting the canoe is Turgeon, the same person, we understand, who was *conducteur* of the canoe which was upset some two or three weeks ago, when two young men were lost. Jean Roberge, Joseph Paquet, of St. Gervais, Jean Roi, Michel Roi, Catherine Roi, P. Poiré, Germain Labrecque and Jean Labrecque, M. Dorval, Chs. Faucher (son of Major Faucher, of St. Thomas), André Blanchet, of St. Charles; Amos Farquhar, of St. Sylvestre; François Patoine, and his son, aged eight years; Mr. Chabot's son, and two brothers of the name of Kirouac.

The four saved, were: an American, the two mail carriers, from Halifax and Nicolet, both of whom succeeded in saving the mail bags; and Turgeon, the *conducteur*." (*Quebec Gazette*, 13th and 15th Feb. 1839.) Pierre Turgeon, the *conducteur*, is now (in 1876) the esteemed Captain of the Quebec steamer "Clyde."

A capital steam winter and summer ferry has taken their place. The use of steam in winter was pronounced an impossibility for years. To whom are we indebted for a winter steam ferry?

Mr. E. W. Sewell, of Levis, ship-builder, for several years has prominently agitated the question of navigating the St. Lawrence in winter, by powerful and specially built steamers; his ingenious arguments, at the present moment, form the subject of inquiry of a parliamentary committee at Ottawa (whose report is not yet submitted.) This gentleman claims the idea of having, in 1852, suggested the idea of

a winter steam ferry between Quebec and Levis. Sir E. P. Taché, who died in 1865, is stated to have, whilst in Parliament, urged on the attention of the House of Assembly, many years back, the possibility of substituting steamers to the then primitive conveyances still used—wooden canoes in winter.

In 1852, a numerously attended city meeting, presided by Dunbar Ross, Esq., prepared a petition to the House of Assembly. On motion of the Hon. P. Chabot, C. M., a select committee was named, composed as follows :

John G. Clapham, Esq., M. P., Chairman ; G. O'Kill Stuart, Esq., M. P., Hypolite Dubord, Esq., M. P.

The question of a periodical ice bridge was warmly advocated before this committee—in whose excellent report we find a paragraph assigning to Mr. E. W. Sewell (now one of the Harbor Commissioners), the priority of having suggested in 1852, the possibility of constructing a steamer to “navigate across the St. Lawrence during the winter months.”¹ The same report of 1853 contains also, amongst the *minutes* of evidence, a remarkable letter of the late Capt. David Vaughan, of Quebec, giving it as his special opinion, that a steamer could be constructed for this winter ferry. The same report, pages 40 and 41, contains the letter of Mr. Sewell, of 5th March 1852. There is a mass of curious information elicited by the committee, before which were heard, many very practical and some scientific persons of Quebec. According to this document, the idea of the Levis steam winter ferry would belong to Mr. E. W. Sewell.

¹ The question of access in winter from one shore of the St. Lawrence to the other, has engaged the attention of our citizens for years : it became a subject for enquiry and report, of two parliamentary committees, the first in 1832—the second in 1853. In 1832, the special committee of the House of Assembly, “on roads and public improvements,” through its chairman, the late Andrew Stuart, member for Quebec, reported in favor of an appropriation of £300 to enable Capt. LeBreton, late 60th Rifle Regiment, and late Deputy Assistant Quarter Master General in Canada, to try his plan of producing an ice bridge; this plan comprised the building of piers, the use of heavy chains, and even of straw, to cause the water to freeze. Hon. William Sheppard, Messire Jérôme Demers and Revd. Dr. Wilkie were examined before this committee. Capt. LeBreton stated also that he had pressed his views on His Excellency, Sir James Henry Craig, as early as 1807, and that Sir James volunteered to subscribe personally £200 to have it tested. Sir James, however, by his early departure, was prevented following up his benevolent bequest. In 1832, the committee recommended the House should vote £300 to try this scheme. Beyond the display on Finlay Market, and the throwing in the river of many sleigh loads of straw, nothing else, we believe, was achieved, though Capt. LeBreton was not a man of straw.

¹ Your committee... consider it but an act of justice to a young and meritorious citizen, M. E. W. Sewell, to state that the idea of navigating across the St. Lawrence, at Quebec, during the winter months, was first suggested by him to the committee of citizens, by a plan and letter of the 5th March 1852, elucidating the subject. (Report of Select Committee, page 3.)

On this point, Mr. H F. Bellew, of the St. Lawrence Steam Navigation Company, addresses us the following, corroborated by a certificate bearing the names of the most prominent merchants, steamboat owners, &c., of Levis:

Quebec, 14th February 1876.

J. M. LEMOINE, Esq.

&c., &c., &c.,

DEAR SIR,

I have pleasure in sending you the accompanying "notes," &c., on the question of the origin of a *Steam Winter Ferry*, between Quebec and Levis, and from the amount of testimony adduced, I think that there can be only one opinion as to the right of the Messrs. Sample claiming the honor of being the first to practically establish the feasibility of the enterprise. R. Sample, jr. planned and built the "Unity," his father furnishing the money and taking an interest. But Mr. Sample's idea, altho' only "worked-out" in 1857, had been conceived many years before. In 1848-9 he had come to an understanding with a Mr. Benjamin Tibbits, to build a winter boat, he, Sample, to build and furnish the hull, and Tibbits, the engine and boiler;—the untimely death of the latter, in 1849, put a stop to the undertaking. This gentleman was brother to James Tibbits, whose name will again appear. He had a foundry and engine shop at Levis, and was a practical engineer and machinist. He was the inventor of the combination in engines which he called the High-Low pressure, now known as *Compound Engines*. He obtained Letters-Patent for his invention both in this country and in England, a year or two before his death. This invention or idea is now applied to all sea-going steamships.

To return to the "Unity," she was commenced in 1855, and launched in August 1856. Money not being over-plentiful, she was a long time completing; only ran in 1857, and kept the ferry during November and December of that year, and from January until spring of 1858—or nearly so. She got frozen in the *Batture* or shore ice during a storm. When it was attempted to start her, it turned out that her shaft was frozen in what is called the stuffing-box, which encircles it where it goes through the stern-post. Steam having been applied to the engine the shaft revolved, but the stuffing-box went around with it and split the rudder-post; this caused a leak which it was impossible to staunch without beaching the boat, and at that season, there being ice on the shores everywhere, no place could be found to ground her—she had consequently to be laid up. During the summer of 1858, she was burned, and not being insured, Mr. Sample could not rebuild or replace her. Her dimensions were as follows: Length, 92 feet; breadth of beam, 16 feet; draught of water, 8½ feet; power, 30 horse nominally.

She was succeeded by the *Arctic*, owned by James Tibbits, but planned, drafted and built by Robert Sample, jr., and subsequently commanded by him for seven years.

The *Arctic* was commenced in 1861, and ran in 1862, since which she has always done winter service with great success. The history of this steamer is a somewhat eventful one. Originally owned by James Tibbits, Esq., she was run by him as a winter ferry boat, and occasionally as a summer one, and sometimes as a passenger boat, between Rivière-du-Loup and Tadoussac, in connection with the Grand Trunk Railway.

In 1867, she became the property of Mr. F. Billingsly, from whom the St. Lawrence Steam Navigation Company, bought her 14th April 1869.

On the 11th April 1874, she sank at her moorings near Point Levis, where she had been for about two months, at a distance of about 200 yards from the shore, surrounded by the ice-bridge. Through carelessness, she was allowed to fill, by her injection pipe and went down in 120 feet of water. Divers followed through holes in the ice, not more than 8 feet square, ascertained her position, and in a few days made fast several chains around her. By perseverance, on the part of her owners and of the men they employed, she was raised, repaired, and ready for the winter ferry about the 15th of November.

The *Arctic* is of the following dimensions: Length, 110 feet; beam, 22½ feet; depth of hold, 12'0"; draught, 12 feet. Hurricane deck extends her entire length. The power of her engines is nominally 75 horse power.

The sinking of the *Arctic* led to the building of the "*Progress*;" thus to an accident, we owe the existence of this most powerful steamer.

The *Prince Edouard*, the next in date after the *Arctic*, and in the main copied after her, was built for Messrs. Couture, Barras & Foisy, in the year 1865-6 for winter service; her length is 95½ feet; main breadth, 22 feet; depth of hold, 10 feet; tonnage registered, 111.56, 100.

She was purchased by the St. Lawrence Steam Navigation Company, 27th December 1873.

I have only to add that previous to Mr. Sample's success, very few persons would admit that the *screw* would suit for ice navigation. Mr. Sample however, maintained that it was the right thing, and proved it. Barras, Foisy and Couture leaned to the side wheel, but after seeing the success of the *Unity* and *Arctic*, they built the *Prince Edouard*; you will perceive that two of these names appear on the certificate, of which I enclose a copy.

H. F. B.

We extract the following from a correspondence in the *Morning Chronicle*:

"I am also authorised by Mr. Sample to state that prior to 1852, he and the late Mr. Benjamin Tibbits had jointly arranged to build a boat specially for the winter service; but for reasons unnecessary to be made public, the scheme was abandoned, although the plans and models were made."

Respectfully yours,

Quebec, 31st December, 1874.

F. B.

Our Dominion Force.

The departure in the fall of 1871, on board H. M. Troop ship *Orontes*, of the remainder of the British Force at Quebec, the 60th Rifles and 5th battery of the Third Brigade Royal Artillery, rendered it imperative to create a force, to take the place of the Imperial garrison withdrawn. There were the fortress, at Quebec, St. Helen's Island, opposite Montreal, the splendid Levis forts, &c., as well as those of Kingston and Toronto, in Ontario, to be looked after, with the vast magazines, armaments and warlike materials handed over to the Dominion Government. It was further proposed in connection therewith, to establish a school of gunnery, under efficient, scientific and regularly trained officers, so as to render the organization both useful and creditable to the country and make it serve as a standard of efficiency for the Militia Artillery, and provide for the theoretical and practical instruction of officers, non-commissioned officers and men. By a general order of 20th October 1871, two batteries (A and B) of artillery were created, the first to be composed of 110 gunners, with a staff of officers and 8 horses—B Battery, the second, to be composed of 130 gunners, with a proportionate staff ¹ of officers and 8 horses.

¹ The establishment as by G. O., 20th Oct. 1871 of B Battery, is as follows:

- 1 captain.
- 4 lieutenants (one to act as adjutant.)
- 1 assistant surgeon.
- 1 master gunner.
- 1 Battery serjeant Major.
- 1 Laboratory foreman.
- 1 Ordnance armourer.
- 6 serjeants.
- 6 corporals.
- 8 trumpeters.
- 130 gunners.
- 8 horses (for instructional purposes and also for moving ordnance.)

Long and short, but elaborate courses of instruction in military matters, were also created by this general order—to be followed at first by officers and non-commissioned officers, previously selected for their aptitude; the subjects taught comprise, over and above the duties of an artillerist, in garrison and field, the making of military bridges, rafts, pontoons, platforms for guns and mortars and a variety of other requisites in warfare. This general order made the Force available for duty if required, in any part of the Dominion. It was placed under the provisions of the Mutiny Act—articles of war—and Queen's Regulations. Our Government deemed it advisable to apply to the War office, in England, for the services of a thoroughly scientific and efficient head for the important new organization and school of gunnery at Quebec; an officer, who possessed both theory and practice in his profession—a master of his art—in the schools as well as in the field, combining the sternness of military discipline, with

the thoughtful humanity of the man. The choice fell on the present Inspector of Dominion Artillery and Commandant of the Citadel, Lt.-Col. T. Bland Strange.¹ Though comparatively young in years, he was old in the service—distinguished by his attainments as an artilleryman. Whilst the city could feel proud in counting one more gentleman amongst her inmates—one whose sense of duty, morality and sobriety, was a living example to his officers and men—the country at large never has had reason to challenge the selection. The successful candidates at the school of gunnery would be entitled to artillery certificates of first or second class, but instead of the usual gift of \$50, heretofore awarded to the successful candidate, the pay of \$1 per diem, with rooms and rations would be allowed to such officers who passed, so long as they formed part of the Battery. The shortest period of service for the privates, is twelve months.

Up to date, the school has turned out over 600 trained gunners and supplied yearly drafts for North West service.

The Force is composed, as to officers, of several young men of good families of both origins; both nationalities, happily blend amongst the privates. The Battery has more than once been called on by the civic authorities, to quell election or other riots and has dealt with such unpleasant emergencies with marked success. At first the corps were simply schools of gunnery, made up of officers and non-commissioned officers and men of volunteer artillery corps. On the 10th July 1874, a general order gazetted them as a distinct corps, and commissioned their officers from that date as follows, for the Quebec Battery Col. Strange remaining as before.

Commandant Lieut.-Col.—T. Bland Strange.

Capt. and Brvt. Major—Chs. Montizambert.²

Lieutenants—Capt. M. E. J. Duchesnay, Capt. C. Short, O. Prevost Adjt. G. A. Larue.

Surgeon—H. Neilson.

¹ On reference to the Royal Artillery record of services, we see that Major, Strange, R. A., who holds in our militia the rank of Lt.-Col., was a gentleman Cadet on 15th Sept., 1847,—2nd Lt. in 1851—1st Lt., 1853—2nd Capt. in 1858—1st Capt., 1866, and Major, 5th July, 1872. His records show "service" at Gibraltar, 1852—West Indies, 1854—East Indies, 1857; his gallant conduct during the Indian Mutiny, is repeatedly mentioned in general orders by Commanders in chief, Genl. Sir T. Franks, Sir Colin Campbell, Sir Hope Grant, Sir A. Horsford.

Hort's army List for July 1870, mention him thus "Captain T. B. Strange, served in India 1857-58 and was present at the actions of Chanda and Sultampore, Dhowra, siege and capture of Lucknow, actions of Korse Newabgunge, Seragunge, affairs of 25th and 29th July, passage of the Gomtee at Sultanpore, including affairs of 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th August and Doodpore 20th October, (four times mentioned in dispatches, Medals with Clasp.) Page 93.

² In addition to the knowledge of his profession, acquired in the Quebec School of Gunnery, Major Montizambert has had the advantage of following at Woolwich and Aldershot, England, the Royal Artillery field manoeuvres. Major Montizambert is a descendant from the venerable Governor of Three Rivers, in 1663, Pierre Boucher, who received a patent of nobility, from Louis XIV. The name is French (Boucher de Mont Isambert, a town in France.)

Militia Department, Quebec.

Deputy Adjutant General—No. 7, M. Dis.' Lieut.-Casault.

Inspector of Artillery and Commander of the Artillery of Province of Quebec—Lieut.-Col. T. B. Strange.

Brigade Major—Lieut.-Col. Duchesnay.

Brigade Major—Lieut.-Col. E. Lamontagne.

District Paymaster—Major W. H. Forest.

Provincial Store-keeper—Captain F. Lampson.

Shipbuilding at Quebec.

Notable changes in the tonnage and model of Quebec crafts, are observable since the first arrivals from sea, in September 1535—the *Grande Hermine*, 100 to 120 tons, Jacques-Cartier Commander, and her two smaller consorts, the *Petite Hermine*, 60 tons, Marc Jalobert, Master, and the *Émérillon*, 40 tons, Guillaume LeBreton, Master.

Three hundred years later, nearly opposite to where Jacques-Cartier's vessels had anchored, our city shipwrights were building the *Baron of Renfrew*, 5,880 tons, and in 1861, the *Great Eastern*, 22,500 tons, was steaming past into port.

It has been stated that the progressive Intendant, Talon, before leaving in 1672, had ordered a ship to be built at *Anse des Mères*. The first Quebec built craft which sailed across the Ocean, had been modelled on the banks of the St. Charles in 1703. Eleven years later, in 1714, the New England colonists of Plymouth launched the first New England built Schooner, which ploughed the briny billows of the Atlantic, *en route* for England. In 1722, six vessels of tolerable tonnage were launched in the St. Charles, from a spot now called Marine Hospital cove. Under Louis XV, the French Minister Maurepas, with a view of helping France to successfully meet her rival, England's fleets on the Ocean, undertook to stimulate shipbuilding at Quebec; this industry was then in its infancy. A premium of 500 francs was paid for every vessel of not less than 200 tons, built at Quebec and sold in France or in any of the French colonies. This subsidy, soon withdrawn, was of little use. The seven years war and the change of rule left shipbuilding at Quebec in its embryo state, until the year 1787,¹ when it revived; though it appears to have followed the fluctuations of trade, as is shown by the following table extracted from the registers of the Custom House at Quebec.

¹ These figures and some of the preceeding remarks are from *Annuaire du Commerce*, 1873.

TABLE showing the number and tonnage of Quebec built vessels, from 1787 to 31st December, 1875.

Year.	Number of ships.	Tonnage.	Year.	Number of ships.	Tonnage.
1787.....	10.....	933	1832.....	24.....	4895
1788.....	19.....	1425	1833.....	29.....	5598
1789.....	58.....	2363	1834.....	35.....	9010
1790.....	10.....	452	1835.....	30.....	8012
1791.....	12.....	654	1836.....	31.....	10155
1792.....	12.....	574	1837.....	34.....	10179
1793.....	6.....	319	1838.....	35.....	9358
1794.....	14.....	909	1839.....	46.....	13929
1795.....	19.....	1364	1840.....	64.....	26561
1796.....	13.....	1297	1841.....	64.....	23122
1797.....	14.....	1528	1842.....	57.....	12621
1798.....	13.....	1138	1843.....	42.....	12736
1799.....	32.....	6188	1844.....	40.....	14214
1800.....	21.....	3769	1845.....	46.....	24713
1801.....	24.....	3404	1846.....	39.....	19714
1802.....	21.....	3370	1847.....	74.....	35740
1803.....	30.....	3168	1848.....	55.....	22298
1804.....	25.....	2624	1849.....	73.....	28160
1805.....	15.....	1846	1850.....	74.....	34154
1806.....	18.....	2332	1851.....	66.....	41605
1807.....	15.....	2728	1852.....	49.....	26405
1808.....	15.....	4133	1853.....	89.....	54028
1809.....	21.....	3415	1854.....	78.....	46554
1810.....	35.....	5533	1855.....	95.....	35802
1811.....	54.....	13691	1856.....	90.....	35842
1812.....	34.....	6941	1857.....	83.....	38644
1813.....	18.....	3315	1858.....	51.....	20518
1814.....	25.....	3906	1859.....	41.....	14468
1815.....	39.....	3460	1860.....	55.....	22585
1816.....	39.....	4213	1861.....	51.....	25546
1817.....	36.....	3590	1862.....	68.....	27213
1818.....	37.....	3566	1863.....	88.....	54735
1819.....	25.....	3666	1864.....	105.....	59333
1820.....	16.....	2084	1865.....	113.....	45701
1821.....	22.....	2254	1866.....	103.....	36764
1822.....	20.....	2685	1867.....	45.....	20015
1823.....	38.....	3706	1868.....	49.....	23254
1824.....	38.....	10498	1869.....	50.....	25661
1825.....	83.....	24592	1870.....	26.....	15601
1826.....	84.....	19172	1871.....	32.....	11165
1827.....	61.....	9475	1872.....	57.....	18371
1828.....	61.....	9782	1873.....	56.....	18552
1829.....	34.....	6087	1874.....	58.....	17710
1830.....	25.....	4793	1875.....	84.....	21616
1831.....	38.....	6170	To 31st December, 1875.		

Grand total :—Ships, 3,873—Tonnage, 1,285,842.

At the rate of £10 a ton, this would represent \$51,433,680. Until 1799, the average of a Quebec built ship was 50 tons. Nay, our ship-builders did not consider it quite safe to tempt the perils of the sea in

a ship of greater tonnage than 200 tons. The first ship of 500 tons was built in 1799. In 1853, shipbuilding at Quebec, underwent quite a revolution. Symmetry of design, exquisite lines took the place of carrying capacity. The age of clippers began, sharp, handsome, fleet vessels; several of whom on the Atlantic or in the China trade, by their rapid passages, brought our port quite into note. We have merely room here to mention by name some of these Ocean racers: the "*Teataster*," drafted by E. W. Sewell; the "*Boomerang*," by Mr. St. Jean; the "*Arthur the Great*" and "*Shooting Star*," by an ingenious draftsman, who had learned the art in the shipyards of Messrs. Gilmour & Co., at Quebec: Mr. Wm. Power, now of Kingston. There were several other vessels equally remarkable, who brought fame to their designers; Mr. Power obtained for his models, prize-medals at the Paris Exhibition. Many shipbuilders here had hastened to build for the United States markets, prior to the expiration of the Reciprocity Treaty; a state of things favorable to this valuable industry at our port. The expiration of the treaty and a sudden demand for iron ships, reduced shipbuilding here to its lowest ebb. Iron vessels having been found objectionable for conveying cargoes of sugar, molasses, &c, in tropical latitudes, a demand sprung up for composite ships—built of wood and iron. We all remember the sorrow experienced by all Quebec, on hearing of the destruction by fire, in the month of May 1870, of Mr. Baldwin's two handsome and nearly finished composite ships. Wooden ships in 1866, being a drug in the English market sought and found purchasers in France, but at ruinous prices. Commercial depression befell the unfortunate shipbuilders, who had to lower wages; hence the origin of those baneful incidents of late years—the strikes.

OUR CEMETERIES.

Probably, the oldest burying ground in Quebec may have been the one outside Prescott Gate, on the adjoining declivity to the south-east, facing Mr. Turcotte's cut-stone buildings. In rear, until the construction of the House of Parliament, stood the Roman Catholic Bishop's Palace. In 1870, on excavating the soil, a number of human bones, and a whole skeleton were discovered; Indian relics were since found in the vicinity. But closer to the Parliament House, the pic and shovel struck on the fragment of a wall, having in it, an arched door; this masonry was doubtless a portion of the foundation wall of a detached building belonging to the *ancien Evêché*. The Quebecers who died even in Champlain's day may have found here a resting

place, as well as the Hurons, located in the little Huron Fort, shown on old plans of Quebec for 1664. There were in 1665, ¹ some eighty Hurons installed here for some time, after the dispersion of this tribe by the Mohawks, on Lake Simcoe and in the Manitoulin Island in 1649. In their terror, they asked for and were granted permission, to dwell in this small Fort, under the very guns of Fort St. Louis, (which stood to the north-west of the Huron Fort)—the front of which faced the Ring—a little distance in advance of the Castle St. Louis. It was only in the spring of 1657, that the new cemetery called St. Joseph Cemetery, adjoining the Roman Catholic Cathedral and between it and the Seminary, was used for the first time. The springs of water and dampness of the first cemetery rendering it desirable to seek another spot for burials.

This St. Joseph Cemetery was used until the conquest, by Roman Catholics exclusively; after the surrender of Quebec, we find in the old *Quebec Gazette*, obituary notices, according to which the remains of Protestants seem to have been committed to the St. Joseph Cemetery. In 1775, the gorge of the St. Louis Gate Bastion was used as a special Protestant cemetery; the luckless hero of Près-de-Ville, Brigadier-General Montgomery, a protestant, and the first wife of James Thompson, Wolfe's old sergeant, were deposited there after death; of which facts, Mr. Thompson's Diary contains special entries—Montgomery's remains were removed from thence in 1818.

The Belmont Cemetery.

On the 30th December, 1857, about fifty-seven superficial arpents of the Caldwell estate, were purchased from J. W. Dunscomb, Esq., for a Cemetery, by the Fabrique *Notre Dame de Québec*, on the north of the St. Foye road, about two miles and a half from the city. It is the burying ground of the Roman Catholic churches: the Basilica and St. John the Baptist, in St. John suburb. It was laid out without much symmetry and contains some monuments; the most ornate is that of J. B. Renaud, Esq.; Mr. Abraham Hamel has had a chapel erected over his vault; Mr. Theop. Hamel, his brother, the well-remembered Quebec painter, has a handsome monument; in addition to which may be added, those of Hon. Eugène Chinic, Messrs. Ives Tessier, Chas. Sharples, John Burroughs, J. A. Green, Mrs. Wm. Hy. Roy, Augustin Gauthier, F. Gourdeau, L. Jos. Constantin, Gaspard Drolet, Widow Edouard Gingras, Mrs. Thos. Pope, H. A. Murphy, Félix Tetu, Jos. Shehyn, &c. In the centre of the cemetery, is erected a very conspi-

¹ *Histoire de la Colonie française.* (Faillon.)

cuons and costly iron cross, about twenty feet in height, quite an ornament to the cemetery ; one tomb in particular, that erected to the memory of F. X. Garneau, the celebrated historian of Canada, deserves special notice ; it is thus alluded to, in the *Maple Leaves* for 1873.

“ Under the shade of lofty pines, close to the famed battle-fields of the past, in view of his native city, now rests all that remains to us of a noble minded, retiring man of letters. There, lies a true son of Canada, though the influence of his writings was felt far beyond the limits of his country. From the muse of history he received his inspirations ; by her, his name will be inscribed in the temple of fame with those of Prescott, Bancroft, Parkman, Jared Sparks, Sargent and other kindred spirits of the land of the West. Like them, Garneau, will continue to light up the path of literature, teaching love of country, marking out the line of duty to generations still unborn.”

Mount Hermon Cemetery.

Amidst the leafy woods of Sillery, about two and a half miles from the city. It is intended for protestants of all denominations and occupies grounds of thirty-two acres in extent, purchased in May 1848 from the late Judge Ed. Bowen. The first french settler that owned, cleared and cultivated it, was one Sebastien Langelier, a native of Normandy, near Rouen : a site picturesque and beautiful, sloping gently towards the St. Lawrence, which flows two hundred feet below the rugged cliff. It is shaded with large trees : oaks, pines, spruce, silver-birch, and was admirably laid out in 1849, by a military Professor of West Point, N. Y., Major Douglas, who designed Greenwood cemetery, near New York and the Albany cemetery. A carriage drive, upwards of two miles in extent, affords access to all parts of the grounds and by applying to the keeper, whose office and house is at the entrance, visitors are allowed to go in with their carriages. The visitor after driving over the smooth lawn-like surface finds himself suddenly transferred by a turn of the road into a dark avenue of stately trees, from which he emerges to see the broad St. Lawrence, almost beneath him with the city of Quebec, and the beautiful slopes of Point Levis in the distance. From the brow of the cliff, where seats have been placed for that purpose, the view extends as far as Quebec and on the lumber coves. The village of St. Romuald or New Liverpool, with its large saw mills and stately roman catholic church and convent, is seen on the opposite side of the river, a little southwards.

In this burying ground, sleep many distinguished citizens and

strangers; here rest the remains of Dr. Daniel Wilkie,¹ one of the ablest preceptors of youth; John Wilson, the celebrated scottish vocalist; an only son of Sir Edmund Head, who was drowned in the river St. Maurice. William Price, D. D. Young, Henry LeMesurier, Wm. Gunn, L. T. McPherson, Chs. Temple,² G. B. Symes, James and Thos. Gibb, Capt. Janes, John Thomson, Dr. Wilkie, Bishop Mountain, James McKenzie, John Munn, W. W. Scott, Hammond Gowen, A. J. Maxham have each handsome family monuments. Hon. Henry Black and Jacob Pozer had each, a vault built.

Up to 31st December 1875, the register show 4813 burials, in Mount Hermon Cemetery.

Some of the tomb stones are extremely chaste and ornamental. White marble—Ohio sandstone—Aberdeen and common granite are the chief materials used; they have been designed by English—Scotch—American and Canadian Artists—some, by Mr. Morgan of this city, are very creditable to his taste. The grounds are laid out in lots of 100 or 200 square feet, and sold at a uniform price of 50 cents per foot. There is a conservatory attached to the cemetery, which affords great facilities for supplying shrubs and flowers for the graves: this last abode of the dear departed, overhanging the murmuring waters of the majestic flood, redolent of sweet flowers, attract each Sunday, under their whispering pines, in summer, and especially in the month of September, numbers of visitors from the city.

A neat gothic Lodge at the entrance of the grounds contains the office and residence of the Superintendent. In the former, a complete plan of the grounds is kept; every separate grave being marked upon it, with its appropriate number, so that at any future time, on consulting it, the exact spot of interment can be ascertained and the Register which is also kept, affords information respecting the places of birth, age, date of death. A large vault perfectly secured with iron-doors, has been constructed for the purpose of receiving bodies during the winter, when immediate interment is not desired. When permission is obtained from the incumbent, service for the dead, according to the rites of the Church of England, is performed in the adjoining handsome church of St. Michael, which has no connection with the cemetery.

Conspicuous in this quiet city of the dead, stands the monumen

¹ Whilst penning these lines, we learn with sorrow of the untimely death of the late Dr. Wilkie's nephew and successor, Daniel Wilkie, Esq., the respected Rector of the High School.

² Mr. Temple's monument is designed from the Knight Templars.

³ MAPLE LEAVES for 1865, page 50, contain the names of the contributors to the fund, some \$12,100 subscribed to build this ornamental Church of St. Michael, Sillery, where the Governors General of Canada, when in Quebec, used to attend each Sunday.

raised by a grateful community to Lieut. Baines, R. A. who paid with his life, the penalty of his devotion, on the 14th Oct., 1866, in saving property at the St. Roch fire.

In an other corner, there is a slab recording the death of His Excellency, Sir Edmund Head's only son, aged 19 years, who, on 25th Sept. 1859, was drowned at Three Rivers, whilst bathing. "Who can visit this sylvan abode, sacred to the repose of the departed, without noticing one tomb in particular, in the enclosure of Wm. Price, Esq.,—we allude to that of Sir Edmund Head's gifted son. The troubled waters of the St. Maurice and the quiet grave at Sillery recall, as in a vision, not only the generous open-hearted boy, who perished in one and sleeps in the other, but they tell also of the direct line of a good family cut off—a good name passing away, or, if preserved at all, preserved only on a tomb-stone." (*Notman's British Americans.*)

St. Patrick's Cemetery.

The cemetery of St. Patrick church, on St. Louis road, is the oldest burying ground actually used. It was formerly the property of the trustees of the french cathedral and its transfer to the irish church was made when the Belmont cemetery was opened. It has few monuments of a nature to attract the visitor. Some however are deserving of notice, Mr. W. M. McDonald, owns the handsomests; Messrs. Alleyn, Sharples have also monuments, &c. It is sometimes called the Cholera burying ground, because it was used for interring the bodies of those who died from cholera, in 1832. A luxuriant plantation of trees on the road side, promises ere long to add much to its aspect.

St. Charles Cemetery.

On the Lorette road, is picturesquely laid out on the banks of the river St. Charles, near Scott's bridge. The ground was purchased from the Hon. Mr. Justice P. Panet, for the sum of \$20,000. The dark green pines which adorn it, impart to that cemetery a soft, solemn gloom most congenial to the place and its object. Unfortunately, it is not large and before long the trustees of the Roman Catholic church of the parish of St. Roch, to which it belongs, will be compelled to enlarge it. There are some costly monuments to be seen in this cemetery; amongst others, a neat white marble one of Mr. W. Venner, of St. Roch; also less conspicuous ones such as those of S. Lelièvre, Esq., Narcisse Gingras, Hon. J. Cauchon, Dr. Chs. Fremont, Isaac Dorion, Dr. Blanchette, Mr. Baker and Geo. Lemelin. Hon. J. E.

Gingras, has had a handsome frescoed chapel built over his vault, wherein, mass may be said.

Immediately opposite, is the St. Sauveur cemetery, newly laid out; it will in time, no doubt contain monuments.

The old Protestant Cemetery.

The Cemetery called the "Quebec Protestant Burying Ground" was originally bought by the Government of the Province of Quebec, from the Heirs St. Simon, partly on the 19th December 1771, and partly on the 22nd August 1778.

In the year 1823, Lord Dalhousie made a grant of that ground to "The Trustees of the Quebec Protestant Burying Ground," in whose hands it has remained until the 19th May 1860, when the cemetery was declared closed by the 23 Vic., chap. 70; section 2d of which Act provides that the ground may be converted into a public square by the municipal authorities, but may never be applied to any other purpose. The bodies were removed to Mount Hermon Cemetery some years back.

It contains the remains of many noted persons, some of the Lieut. Governors of the province were interred there. One of Sir Walter Scott's brothers, Major Thomas Scott, ¹ of the 70th Regt., was buried here in 1823, and his tomb discovered this fall; also Capt. Cameron, 78th (Fraser's) Highlanders. ²

In Lt.-(Col.) Malcolm Fraser's *Diary of the siege of Quebec, in 1759*, the death of this brave highlander is thus recorded, "Monday, 3rd Sept. (1759) This day, died my worthy captain, Alexander Cameron, of Dungallon, universally regretted by all those who knew him, as a fine gentleman and a good soldier.

"Tuesday, 4th Sept. Captain Cameron was interred in front of

¹ Major Thos. Scott, in 1823, was the father of several daughters at Quebec. Dr VonIffland, now in his seventy-six year, our respected neighbor at Spencer Cottage Sillery, tells with pleasure of his meeting the jovial Major of the 70th, in the Upper Town, some fifty odd years ago. One of the Miss. Scott married Major Huxley.

It is to this brother, then Pay-Master, in Kingston, the "Great Unknown" wrote as follows, on the 13th Dec. 1817:

"My dear Tom,

I cannot acquiesce in your plan of settling in Canada. Should you remain in Canada, you must consider your family as settlers in that state, and, as I cannot believe that it will remain very long separated from America, I should almost think this equal to depriving them of the advantages of British subjects."

This was written, be it known, but two years after the close of the war between Canada and the United States of 1812-15—which furnished such a satisfactory record of Canadian bravery and Canadian loyalty; a proof, if any were needed, of the danger of prophesying and how the knowledge of the future is closed even to the most gifted.

² Why Capt. Alex. Cameron's epitaph should be in French, is inexplicable.

"Ci git le corps d'Alexandre Cameron, de Dungallon, &c."

"This stone was erected by Lieut. Col. Malcolm Fraser and Lieut. Col. Nairn, in memory of their beloved brother-officer Capt. Alexander Cameron, of Dungallon, Scotland, who died of fever in August 1759, serving his King and country, and was buried in this spot."

N. B.—The stone: a Scotch quartz or limestone. The lettering is well executed.

our colours, with the usual solemnities." This military funeral of Captain Cameron, must have taken place at Levis, from whence the remains appear to have been removed by his brother officers, for interment at Quebec, after the capitulation of 18th Sept. 1759; (Captain Cameron is an ancestor of Donald Cameron Thomson, Esq., of Quebec.)

Some of the inscriptions have given rise to much discussion.

Small Pox Cemetery, R. C.

Was the Small Pox Cemetery (*Cimetière des Picotés*) on Couillard street, east of the Hotel-Dieu, used before the conquest? This is yet unknown to us. In 1775, the dire scourge decimated the American invaders; crowds of whom, died in St. John and St. Roch suburbs that winter of small-pox. On the 6th May, they left; the place was not healthy? The narratives of eye witnesses of that period mention how, on their dismal march from Quebec, to the New England and other Provinces, the baffled warriors died in frightful agony—loathsome objects; how, after death, they were thrown by the terrified peasants, like dogs in holes dug by the road side, or in the orchards, from Quebec to Three Rivers and thence to Sorel, and along the Chambly valley. It has been stated that this cemetery was first used in 1779. Its name would indicate that like the Cholera burying ground—when an unusual scourge had invaded the city, the victims required for resting places, more than the usual space in "God's acre."

The *Cimetière des Picotés* was given up in 1857; the human remains in 1864, carted to the Cholera burying ground; and the site partly built over.

Gros Pin Cemetery.

A little patch of ground was set aside about 1847, at Gros Pin, Charlesbourg, to receive the remains of the emigrants struck down at the Marine and other hospitals by fever, cholera or other epidemics; it too, has its soft memories. The British emigrant, and exile of Erin, here quietly sleeps the long sleep.

This cemetery lies on the east side of the Charlesbourg road and opens out on it.

Charitable and National Institutions.

In addition to the Hotel Dieu, Marine and General Hospitals, which provide an asylum for the indigent in cases of sickness, there are several other institutions in this city, from which relief and assistance are liberally extended to such as require their aid.

St. George's Society.—	Founded in 1835.
St. Andrew's Society.—	“ in 1835.
St. Patrick's Society.—	“ in 1835.

Société de St. Jean Baptiste.—	Founded in 1842.
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Masonic Lodges.

Albion Lodge, established 1752.—St. John's Lodge.—Stadacona Chapter, No. 13. R. C.—St. Andrew's Lodge No. 5. Q. R.—Harrington Lodge No. 8. Q. R.—St. George's Lodge.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES.

Quebec Auxiliary to the British and Foreign Bible Society.	1834
Quebec Branch Dominion Evangelical Alliance.	1873
Quebec Women's Christian Association.	1875
The Church Society of the Diocese of Quebec.	1842
Quebec Ladies Bible Association.	
The Auxiliary to the Religious Tract Society.	1840
Wesleyan Methodist Society.	
Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.—	1820
Christian Doctrine Society. (St. Patrick's Church) —	1856
Société de la Propagation de la Foi.	1850

EDUCATION.

The Laval University, the Seminary, the Convents and several private establishments supply Quebec with ample sources of general education. In addition to these the following charitable institutions afford instruction to a large number of children.

National School.—No. 2 D'Auteuil street, Esplanade. This institution was founded in 1819 and is conducted in connexion with the Male and Female Orphan Asylums.

British and Canadian School.—Ste Marguerite Street, St. Roch. Instituted in 1823—Conducted on the Lancasterian system. There is a Female Branch attached to this school.

Quebec Infant School.—St. John's Suburbs. Instituted in 1831.
St. Charles Street Infant School.—Instituted in 1837.

Cove Infant School.—Diamond Harbour. Opened in January 1844.

The *Christian Brothers*, Glacis streets, outside St. John's Gate. This Institution, established at Quebec in 1843, has charge at present in the city, of the Commercial Academy and of five Public Schools, giving instruction to 2400 boys.

The number of Sunday Schools has considerably increased within a few years. The Free Chapel Sunday School in St. Joachim street St. John's Suburbs is a very neat building and was erected about 1840 at the expense of the late Jeffery Hale, Esq. to whose beneficence many in this city are indebted. The school was originally commenced in the Free chapel, in St. John street, and since the worthy founder's death and in accordance with his last will and testament, an act of incorporation has been obtained and the property is held in trust for the purposes which he contemplated.

MISCELLANEOUS SOCIETIES, TRUSTS, &c.

Literary and Historical Society, 1824.

Institut Canadien, 1848.

St. Patrick's Literary Institute, 1852.

Association of the Quebec Bar, 1849

Chamber of Notaries, 1868.

Medical Society, 1870.

Quebec Board of Trade, 1842.

" Harbor Trust, 1859.

" Trinity House, 1805-76.

" Turnpike Trust, 1841.

" Exchange, 1828.

Mount Hermon Cemetery Association, 1848.

Agricultural Society, 1789.

CLUBS.

Quebec Turf Club—	1789
Quebec Skating Club Association—	1850
Stadacona Club—	1858
L'Union Musicale de Québec—	1866
Académie de Musique—	1866
Club des Chasseurs—	1870
Chess Club—	1870
Septuor Haydn—	1871
Dominion Foot-Ball Club—	1872
Quebec Poultry Show—	1872

Quebec Dog Club—	1872
Société Ste. Cécile—	1872
Champlain Club—	1875
Hibernian Debating Club—	1875
St. Peter's Club—	1875
Thistle Lacrosse Club—	1875

BENEVOLENT.

Quebec Benevolent Society.	1789
Quebec Friendly Society.	1810
Shoemakers Quebec Benevolent Society—	1834
Quebec Ladies Benevolent Society—	1838
Quebec Ladies Compassionate Society—	1831
Knights of St. Patrick—	1874
Société de St. Vincent de Paul—	1849
Sisters of Charity—	1849
Early Closing Society.—	1850
Quebec Hibernian Benevolent Society—	1864
Young Men's Christian Association—	1870
Œuvre du Patronage,	1872
Female Orphan Asylum.	1832
Male Orphan Asylum.	1832
Society of Amateurs of Arts and Trades—	1871
Asile des Orphelins.—Sœurs Grises—	1850
Ecole de la Réforme—	1870
Union Allet—	1874
Union Commerciale de Québec—	1874
Hospice St. Joseph de la Maternité—	1852
Irish Catholic Benevolent Society—	1872
Workmen's Benevolent Society—	1847
Union St. Joseph—	1865
Society for the Prevention of cruelty to animals—	1870
<hr/>	
Ship Labourers Society—	1862

TEMPERANCE.

St. Lawrence Division No. 16, Sons of Temperance—	1852
Stadacona Lodge No. 26, Independent Order of Good Templars—	1874
Gough Division, No. 3, Sons of Temperance of Quebec—	1874
Stadacona Band of Hope—	1874
St. Patrick's Total Abstinence Cadets—	1875

TYPOGRAPHICAL.

L'Union Typographique de Québec No. 159—	1872
Quebec Typographical Union No. 160—	1872

BANKS.

Montreal Bank—	1817
Quebec Bank—	1818
Bank British North America—	1840
Banque Nationale—	1858
Union Bank—	1865
Stadacona Bank—	1874
<hr/>	
Quebec Provident and Savings Bank—	1847
Caisse d'Economie Notre-Dame—	1848

BUILDING SOCIETIES.

Quebec Permanent Building Society—	1856
La Société Permanente de Construction Mutuelle—	1874
La Société Permanente de Construction des Artisans—	1875
L'Association de Bâtisses des Artisans—	1876

The Quebec Ladies of 1705.

" In the autumn of 1705, says Miles, the customary annual supply of linen and other French fabrics was lost through the wreck of one of the King's ships on its way out from Rochelle, said to have on board a cargo worth a million francs. In consequence, the people of the colony were put to very great inconvenience having to supply the deficiency as far as possible by cutting up their curtains and bed clothes, &c., for clothing. In this emergency *Madame* Repentigny signalled herself by discovering ways of turning to account to fibre, the nettle and the bark of trees. This lady was much praised for that, in a letter written by the Governor and Intendant, who thus expressed themselves : " The public have derived great advantage from the manufacture of *Madame* Repentigny, who has made from the bark of trees *heavy or coarse blankets, from fibre of nettle coarse cloth like linen* and from the wool of sheep a *species of dragnet*—the which is a great succour to the poor inhabitants."

We are happy to see the spirit of industry as exhibited by the Ladies of 171 years ago, is not extinct. An artistically knitted quilt has very recently gladdened our eyes, the combined efforts of many months duration, intended for the Philadelphia Centennial, but not sent : the handy-work of a fair Quebecker, which, we think, might be traced to Beaulieu Terrace.

The "Royal William."

CUSTOM HOUSE REGISTER.

(Note for page 266.)

No. Forty two. Port of Quebec, dated 22 August 1831 }
 Name. Royal William, Burthen Three hundred and } John Jones,
 sixty three and 60/94 Tons. } Master.

Built at this port this present year 1831, which appears by a certificate of Geo. Black the builder, dated 15 July last.

Surveying officer C. G. Stewart.

One deck, three masts, length one hundred and sixty feet. Breadth taken above the main wales, forty four feet and between the paddle boxes, twenty eight feet. Height between decks or depth in the hold, seventeen feet nine inches, and is propelled by steam with wheeler or flyers at each side. Schooner rigged with a standing bowsprit, square sterned, carvel built, quarter badges, a scroll head.

Measured aground.

SUBSCRIBING OWNERS.

William Finlay, William Walker and Jeremiah Leaycraft of Quebec, merchants, trustees of the Incorporated "Quebec and Halifax Steam Navigation Company." } Sixty four shares.

OTHER OWNERS.

Custom House, 14th June, 1832.

William Finlay, William Walker and Jeremiah Leaycraft of Quebec, merchants, Trustees of the Quebec and Halifax Steam Navigation Company have assigned by deed of Mortgage dated this day 64, 64th shares to Sir John Caldwell, Matthew Bell, Jeremiah Leaycraft, Noah Freer, James Bell Forsyth and Henry LeMesurier of same place merchants.

J. W. DUNSCOMB,

Registrar, Port of Quebec.

This steamer was confounded with an other of the same name name which sailed from Liverpool in 1838.

(Extract from Register of Quebec "Exchange.")

QUEBEC, 23rd August, 1831. "The Royal William steamer was put upon the blocks in the Cul-de-Sac, yesterday morning, to get her bottom examined. She will sail for Halifax to-morrow afternoon, on her first trip, stopping at Miramichi and Prince Edward Island. The fare is £6 5s.

QUEBEC, 25th August, 1831.—The Royal William steamer sailed yesterday evening. She has about twenty cabin and seventy steerage passengers. Besides freight, she shipped about 120 tons of coals.

August 27th, 1831.—The Royal William steamer passed Lightvessel, in the Traverse, a little after twelve, on Thursday morning, having run these sixty miles in rather less than six hours.

QUEBEC, Monday, 5th August, 1833.—The Royal William steamer, Captain McDougall, left for London about five o'clock this morning.

On her arrival at London, she was sold to the Spanish Government.

F. JOHNSTON, Supt.,

Quebec Exchange."

APPENDIX.

Champlain.

Samuel de Champlain, according to the *Biographie Saintongeoise*, was born about 1567, at Brouage, in Saintonge, France. His father, Antoine de Champlain, originally a fisherman, rose to be a captain in the Navy, *Capitaine de la Marine*. At an early age, he took to the sea, in quest of adventures. In 1567, his merit had raised him to the post of *Maréchal des logis*, in the army of Brittany. He must have been much thought of, to enjoy at an early age the protection and friendship of many leading men of the time, in France: Cardinal de Richelieu, the Dukes of Montmorency, of Ventadour, the Prince of Condé, the Count of Soissons, Commander de Chaste.

"Samuel de Champlain has been fitly called the Father of New France. In him were embodied her religious zeal and romantic spirit of adventure. Before the close of his career, purged of heresy, she took the posture which she held to the day of her death;—in one hand the crucifix, in the other the sword. His life, full of significance, is the true beginning of her eventful history.

"In respect to Champlain, the most satisfactory authorities are his own writings. These consist of the unpublished Journal of his voyage to the West Indies and Mexico, of which the original is preserved at Dieppe; the account of his first voyage to the St. Lawrence, published at Paris, in 1604, under the title *Des Sauvages*; a narrative of subsequent adventures and explorations, published at Paris, in 1613, 1615 and 1617, under the title of *Voyage de la Nouvelle France*; a narrative of still later discoveries, published at Paris, in 1620 and 1627; and, finally, a compendium of all his previous publications, with much additional matter published in quarto, at Paris, in 1632, and illustrated by a very curious and interesting Map." (*Parkman's "Pioneers,"* page 165.)

Important documents containing the probable place of his interment, will be found in the *Opinion Publique* of 4th Nov. 1875.

Wolfe.

(Note for page 160.)

James Wolfe, son of Lieut.-Genl. Edward Wolfe, was born at Westerham, in Kent, on the 2nd January, 1727. At an early age, he entered the army, served during the seven years war. He served at the battle of Fontenoy, without being present at the engagement. At the battle of Lafeldt, being then a Major in the 33rd, he so distinguished himself as to merit on the battlefield, the public thanks of the British General in Chief, the Duke of Cumberland. In Feb., 1748-9, Wolfe served at Stirling, in Scotland; in April,

at Glasgow; in October, at Perth. March 20th, he was made Colonel of the regiment which he had for some time so admirably commanded. He remained in Scotland until 1753. In 1757, Lieut.-Col. Wolfe was chosen by Mr. Pitt, to serve as Quarter-Master-General of the force sent against Rochefort, under Sir John Mordaunt, the general, and Sir Wm. Hawke, the admiral. On the 23d January, 1758, Mr. Pitt made Wolfe, a brigadier General and gave him the command of a brigade under Amherst, in the expedition against Louisbourg. He was made Colonel of the 17th Foot, on the 21st April, 1758. In January, 1759, Pitt again selected him for active service; this time, as commander in chief, to conduct the expedition against Quebec.

Wolfe's features were sharp, his forehead somewhat receding; his hair sandy or red; his stature, erect; his constitution delicate from his youth. All his thoughts seemed influenced by a deep religious feeling. He was to marry on his return to England, Miss Catherine Lowther, daughter of Robert Lowther, a previous Governor of Barbadoes; six years later, she became by marriage Duchess of Bolton, and died in 1809. His remains were taken to England, in the *Royal William*, 74, landed at Portsmouth on 17th Nov., 1759, and were honored with a national funeral, accompanied by extraordinary pomp. A monument and inscription was erected in his honor by the King and House of Commons at Westminster Abbey, and his body buried in the cemetery of Westerham. Wolfe was 32 years of age when he died. On the night preceding the disembarkation at Sillery, the youthful hero repeated, 'tis said, a passage of Gray's *Elegy* then in the first blush of its fame "On a church-yard":

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Await alike the inevitable hour:
The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

adding, that he would prefer being the author of these truthful lines, to the honor of conquering Quebec on the morrow.

The Marquis of Montcalm.

(Note for page 165.)

Louis Joseph de St. Veran, Marquis of Montcalm, was born at Candiac, in 1712. He entered the army at thirteen years of age; after seventeen years of service, he was named Colonel of the regiment of Auxerrois in 1743. The Italian and German campaigns furnished him opportunities of giving instances of that ability, activity and courage which marked his subsequent career. In 1749, he was made a Brigadier. In 1756, he was named *Maréchal de camps*; as such, commanded the French Forces in Canada. His brilliant victory at Carillon (Ticonderaga), in 1758, as well as other military successes, brought him promotion; he was created Lieutenant General in 1758. Through his plan of defences, the British Forces were held in check all the summer of 1759, and Wolfe, after his repulse, at the battle of Beau-

port Flats, 31st July, 1759, called a council of war and resolved to withdraw for that season and establish forts at *Isle aux Coudres*, opposite Baie St. Paul, as winter quarters for the troops, until reinforcements arrived on the following spring. He was 47 years of age when he expired, on 14th September, 1759. The monument to the memory of Montcalm, in the Ursulines convent, is due to Lord Aylmer, in 1832.

Our French Intendants.

Quebec seems to have been prized at first by the French merchants as a fur trading post, afterwards as a fort against Indian aggression, and lastly by Government as a fortress to uphold French Dominion in the new world.

It numbered amongst its rulers many men distinguished by birth, military genius, scientific and literary attainments: Champlain—LaBarre—Frontenac—Talon—Bégon—Sarrasin—La Gallissonnière—Montcalm—Levis—Bougainville—Charlevoix—Carhiel—Jolliet.

"Amongst the Quebec intendants are to be found men of great sagacity, learning and administrative talent. Some of them quite progressive in their views. Talon was far in advance of his age; his mind is taken up with trade, manufactures, useful enterprises; he builds first, a brewery—opens up mines, mineral springs—builds ships—cultivates hemp. Bégon established stages between Quebec and Montreal. Raudot watches over several branches of trade and manufactures. Hocquart looks after the wild lands, regulates weights and measures, encourages the growth of tobacco, appoints the councillor Perthuis to establish a trade at Kamouraska, appoints Denis de la Rond to prepare a Journal of the scientific discoveries of the German, Forster, sends the sieur Gatien to *Grand Etang*, Gaspé, to improve on the slate factories, opened there by Sarrasin and Hazeur, takes in hand the forges of St. Maurice—has an exact census of the population undertaken. (Bibaud.)

Fort St. Louis.

(Note for page 118.)

Fort St. Louis dates to 1620. In 1624, Champlain caused a good road to be opened from the "habitation" in the lower town to Fort St. Louis. De Montmagny, about 1647, added important improvements.

The name of "Fort St. Louis, which fort is well shown on the city plans at the time of the cession, disappears entirely after the conquest and the first ordonnances published after the Quebec Act (of 1774,) are dated from the Castle, in the council chamber, in the "Chateau St. Louis," in the city of Quebec. The English Governors resided there immediately after the conquest; the legislatif, executive and judiciary council, after the Quebec Act, as well

1 THE (GILT) CROSS IN THE WALL—"September 17th, 1784.... The miners at the Chateau in levelling the yard dug up a large stone from which I have described the annexed figure. I could wish it was discovered soon enough to lay conspicuously in the wall of the New Building (Chateau Haldimand,) in order to convey to posterity the antiquity of the Chateau St. Louis. However, I got the masons to lay the stone in the cheek of the gate of new building." From *Diary of James Thompson, 1769-1830*.

It was Mr. Ernest Gagnon, then city councillor, who (in 1872), caused the cross to be gilt at his own expense, to commemorate the historical incident.

as the Executive Council, after the constitutional Act of 1791, held their sittings there.

In 1808, a sum of £7,000, was given by House of Assembly for Lower Canada, to repair it. It received an additional story and was much enlarged. Four years later, in 1812, an additional sum of £7,980, 19,174 was voted to "meet the deficit in the expenses of the said repairs." The *New Castle*, such was the name, the Castle went under, after its enlargement was 200 feet long on 40 broad. On the ground floor, facing the rear and being as it were over the precipice, there was a vast piazza, the building was roofed in tin. The imposing structure was destroyed by fire on the 23rd February 1834 and Lord Durham, caused the ruins to be removed and built the first terrace which was called after him. In 1854, Hon. Mr. Chabot, Commissioner of Public Works, had the terrace much enlarged, the adjoining walls repaired the bill footed £4,209.92.

The wing 'now' existing was built, for the *levees*, official receptions and the Government balls, given by the English Governors. The corner stone was laid on 5th May 1784, 1 by Sir Frederick Haldimand. Governor General, and on the 19th January 1787, the anniversary of the Queen's birth day (Charlotte of Mecklenburg) the first grand reception was held there. Whilst repairs were going on in the Chateau St. Louis, (1809-10-11-12) the Governor inhabited the "Chateau Haldimand," which he had previously occupied and which he continued to occupy. Both buildings for more than forty years, were applied to the same purpose. The Haldimand Castle (the present one) was repaired in 1851-2-3-4, at a cost of \$13,718.42. More expenditure was entailed there, in 1857. When the Laval Normal and Model Schools were installed there, Bishop Langevin, their principal, had the wing erected where the Chapel stands. The vaulted room used as a kitchen for the Laval Normal School, was an old powder magazine; it is the most ancient portion of the building.



THE OLD CHATEAU GARDEN.—This spot, 3 acres, 3 yards, was granted to Major Samuel Holland, by Letters patent under the great seal, on the 12th March 1766—with certain reserves as to the requirements of barracks or fortifications. Major Holland does not seem to have taken possession of it; but about 1780, General Haldimand having tendered Major Holland the sum of £800, as an indemnity for the use of this land, and this amount being refused, the Government took possession of the property, erected there a five gun battery. Major Holland died in 1800, and by will, dated 25th Oct. 1800, bequeathed the property to his wife, Marie Josepte Rolet, and his children, John Frederick Holland, Charlotte Holland, Susannah Holland, George Holland,—in equal shares.

We are indebted to Mr. Faucher de St. Maurice, for a rare old document, copied by him with true antiquarian zeal, from the Ar-

archives at Ottawa. It is an inventory, made on the 30th Sept., 1660, of the furniture and utensils of the Castle of St. Louis.

These belongings seem uncommonly simple, and primitive: an oven, trough, &c., for the home-baked bread; a dove-cot (colombier), two sentry boxes on the piazza (deux guerites), &c., &c.—Altogether it reminds one of the historian Parkman's sketch of the venerable Chateau. The only engraving we have met with so far, of the castle, is the steel engraving by Smilie's in *Guide Book for Quebec*, 1829.

The old Chateau was, by order in Council of 14th February, 1871, transferred by the Dominion authorities to the Government of the province of Quebec, together with Durham Terrace, the Sewell property facing the Esplanade (Lt.-Governor's office), also the site and buildings of the Parliament House.

Origin of the word Quebec.

"The origin of this name has been disputed, but there is no good ground to doubt its Indian origin, which is distinctly affirmed by Champlain and Les-carbot. Charlevoix, *Fastes chronologiques* (1608), derives it from the Algonquin word *Quebeio* or *Quelibec*, signifying a *narrowing* or contracting (*rétrécissement*.) A half breed Algonquin told Garneau that the word Quebec or Ouabec means a strait. The same writer was told by Mr. Malo, a missionary among the Miomacs, a branch of the Algonquins, that in their dialect, the word *Kibec* had the same meaning. Martin says: "Les Algonquins l'appellent Ouabec, et les Miomacs *Kebèquè*, c'est-à-dire là où la rivière est fermée." Martin's *Bressani*, App. 326. The derivations given by Potherie, LeBeau and others are purely fanciful. The circumstance of the word Quebec being found engraved on the ancient seal of Lord Suffolk (See Hawkins, *Picture of Quebec*), can only be regarded as a curious coincidence. In Cartier's time, the site of Quebec was occupied by a tribe of the Iroquois race who called their village *Stadaconé*. The Hurons called it, says Sagard, *Atou-ta-requee*. In the modern Huron dialect *Tiatou-ta-riti* means *the narrows*. (*Parkman's Pioneers*, page 301.)

Huron Address.

The following address was presented to the Hon. Mr. Justice Caron on the 31st March, 1873, on his appointment as Lieut.-Governor of the Province of Quebec, by a deputation of the Lorette Huron Indians at the Hon. Judge's rustic *Manoir*, at Clermont, which stands on the lands conceded to the ancestors of these swarthy savages, two centuries ago. The deputation composed of a twenty-three Hurons, with plumes, paint, tomahawk, in full Indian costume, made a remarkable figure as they stalked to the city, along the St. Louis road. They had danced the war dance, with accompaniments, before the Ladies.

ONONTHIO,

Aisten tiothi non8a a tishon dekha hiatanonstati deson8a8endi,

1 The 8 is pronounced *oui*.

daskemion tesontariai denon8a ation datito8anens tesanonronk8a nionde,
aon8a deson8a8endio de8a desakatade; aSeti desanonronk8anion datito8anens
chia ta skenralethe kiolaoton8ison tothi chia hiaha aSeti dechienha toti-
nahiontati desten de sendeti ataki atichiaï aSeti alatonthara deskemion
ichionthe desten tiodeti aisten orachichiaï.

Révd. Prosper Sa8atonen The Memory Man, (Rev'd. Mr. Vincent, a chief's
son, then Vicaire at Sillery.)

Paul Taourensche, chef. The Dawn of Day.

Maurice Agnolin, 2ème chef. The Bear.

Francis Atonharohas. The victor of fire.

Gaspard Ondiaralété. The canoe bearer.

Philippe Theon8atlasta. He stands upright.

Joseph Gonzague Odilonrohannin. He who does not forget.

Paul Jr. Theianontakhen. Two united Mountains.

Honoré Télanontonkhè. The Sentry.

A. N. Montpetit Ahatsistari Great Warrior; in all 23 warriors.

(Translation.)

"The chiefs, the warriors, the women and children of our tribe greet you.
The man of the wood also likes to render homage to merit: he loves to see
in his chiefs those precious qualities which constitute the statesman.

All these gifts of the Great Spirit: wisdom in council, prudence in execu-
tion and that sagacity we exact in the Captains of our nation, you possess
them all, in an eminent degree.

We warmly applaud your appointment to the exalted post of Lieutenant-
Governor of the Province of Quebec and feel happy in taking advantage of
the occasion to present our congratulations.

May we also be allowed to renew the assurance of our devotion towards our
August Mother, who dwells on the other side of the Great Lake, as well as
to the land of our fore fathers.

Accept for you, for Mrs. Caron and your family, our best wishes."

A few notes on the Quebec and Levis Ferry.

Down to the year 1818, the ferry between Quebec and the opposite shore
was exclusively in the hands of Indians, who crossed the river in birch-bark
canoes, but at a later date Indians might still be seen ferrying belated
strangers, when other ferry boats were laid up. The landing places for the
frail craft—which had to be run up on the shore to allow passengers to land
dry-shod—used to be on the Quebec side, in the Cul-de-Sac, now Champlain
Market, and at "La Place," (or landing place), now Finlay Market, but
still sometimes called by the old name. At those points, piers or wharves
were unknown, and as late as 1859, it was a common sight to see a fleet of
bateaux where Champlain Hall now stands, and the tide rising to the very
street. On the Levis side, the extreme point was the landing place of the

ances, as a rule, where a small inlet offered shelter, and known as "L'Anse des Pères" (or the Fathers' cove); and also the larger cove at the foot of the hill known as Bégin's Hill, now the property of Julien Chabot, Esq., of the St. Lawrence Steam Navigation Company.

The last of the "Red Men" who held a regular ferry was known by the very un-indian name of Lagorgendière; his tariff for crossing a passenger was 2s. 6d., or what we now call fifty cents, and so little had he the fear of competition before his eyes, that he exacted payment before landing his passengers, and in the event of any one being "short" of the necessary amount, he would return him to the point from which he started, until the stated sum could be procured.

In 1819, Pierre Bégin and Gabriel Chabot commenced ferrying in row-boats, and in 1820, added a vessel of large dimensions known as a *bateau*, in which cattle could be brought across the river.

Frequently, however, horses and oxen might be seen tied on either side of the *bateau*, swimming across and actually towing the vessel.

The ferry service was continued in this style until 1827 when the first Steam Tug was built; this was the *Lauson*, and belonged to Sir John Caldwell. Her first (and probably only) captain was Gabriel Chabot. On week days, she was employed in towing rafts, but on Sundays, held the ferry.

In 1828, Charles Poiré, farmer of Levis, built the first *Horse-Boat* and was followed, a few months after by Aug. Bégin and Julien Chabot; Michel Barras and Pierre Barras, forming two firms who built two more Horse-Boats. These three Horse-Boats held the ferry more or less regularly from that time to 1840. In this year Julien Chabot, put a small Steam Engine into his Horse-Boat, thus converting her into a Steam-boat, and may thus be said to have been the first to apply Steam to a boat intended exclusively for the ferry. His success stirred up the late J. B. Beaulieu who built the *Charles Edouard*, 55 tons, which performed the trip in ten minutes. This in turn stimulated Mr. Chabot; in 1843 he built the *Dorchester*, larger and more powerful than the *Charles Edouard*. Regular (or comparatively regular) Steam ferry service dates from 1843, and Horse-Boats disappeared from the scene, altho' one struggled on to 1845. Another run between Quebec and St. Nicholas down to 1846. The Horse-Boat ferry did not run straight across the river, but was carried with the tide either up, or down, as the case might be and the voyage was frequently extended far beyond the limits of pleasure, and was not unaccompanied by danger or sea-sickness! The Horse Boats sometimes used to tow vessels in the harbour. Quebec was seldom visited, in those days, by vessels larger than 200 to 400 tons.

Between 1843 and 1857, there was great competition between Steamboat owners: the Chabots, the Poirés, the Coutures, the Barras, &c., but a steady and reliable ferry was only established, when Public indignation could stand bad treatment no longer.—It was quite a common thing for a "ferry" boat to leave the landing with a load of passengers on board, and instead of

crossing them to the opposite shore, proceed to take a vessel in tow and retain her passengers on board for perhaps over an hour or two, at the same time keeping numbers waiting on either shore. When this treatment had *filled the measure*, the Corporations of Quebec and Levis took united action and secured powers from Parliament to regulate and lease the ferry. The first contract was awarded to Messrs. Couture, Barras and Foisy, in 1863. They did a little better than had been done before. On the expiration of their contract, the St. Lawrence Steam Navigation Company became the Contractors in 1874; having to complain that the Quebec Corporation did not protect them against *unlawful* competition, the company decided to sell out its rights to a new company organized for the purpose, which took over the boats on the 28th March, 1876.

During the years we have been writing about the winter ferry, was, not only uncertain but dangerous. The Indians had heavy canoes dug-out of one piece, usually small, but exceedingly heavy and unwieldy for their size, and they never attempted to cross except at still-water.

The first "built" canoe was introduced by the Messrs. Julien and Gabriel Chabot in 1843, and with it crossing was effected at any time of the tide. The canoe was the only means of crossing in winter (when no "bridge" formed) until replaced by the Steamer *Unity* and her successors.

The Mr. Julien Chabot mentioned in the foregoing, was the father of the present Mr. Julien Chabot—well known in connection with the steam navigation of the St. Lawrence."

Dark days of Canada, 1785.

(By H. H. Miles, L.L.D.)

(Note for page 235.)

From the end of September till the middle of the second week of October 1785, the state of the weather at Quebec was peculiar and unusual. The chief characteristics were fog, and a remarkable haziness of the air, diversified by frequent rain with only few and brief intervals of sunshine. On the 18th, early in the afternoon, the cloudiness of the atmosphere increased almost to darkness, so that outside work was interrupted, and indoors, people could not see to read or write. Presently a thunder-storm broke over the city, and the streets, illuminated by lightning, presented the aspect of water-courses or rivers, owing to the exceedingly heavy rain that fell.

But the climax was reached on the 16th of October, which has since been styled the "Dark Day of Canada," for the darkness that supervened, extended over the whole country, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the region above Montreal.

Through the kindness of Mr. James T. Harrower, we are enabled to furnish a few interesting particulars concerning that day at Quebec, which were placed on record in a diary kept by his grandfather, an eye witness—the late Mr. James Thompson, Senr.

"Sunday, 16th (October, 1785).—Weather hazy and dark in the morning,

which increased so that candles were necessary to be lighted at noon, in church, without which the service could not be performed. About one, the rain came on, with thunder and lightning. Darkness increasing, the phenomenon became wonderful and a striking awe, at two o'clock, as dark as could be witnessed in the silent hour of midnight, and no one to be found in the streets. The cows belonging to the town were frightened, quitted their pasture and hasted away home. There was a glimpse of light now and then between 2 and 4, so that one could see if any person walked in the streets. At 4, there was darkness again, and a very extraordinary clap of thunder, which shocked our people in the old citadel most sensibly and, (as they say), caused such a stench of sulphur as was like to stifle them. The water in their tubs and under the eave-spouts got as black as ink. Water everywhere appeared black, especially that exposed to the air. In short, every thing appeared dismal, and all that have seen it may, with propriety, say that they passed one night in their lives of *thirty-six hours*. This is the first time in my life that I eat my dinner at two o'clock in the day, by candle light." *Extract from Thompson's Diary, Vol. 4.*

Shipping Intelligence.

DATES OF CLOSE OF NAVIGATION.

The following table, giving the date of last trip each year of the mail steamers from Quebec to Montreal, during the past twenty-two years, will be of interest:—

Year.	Date of last trip.
1854.....	Dec. 2
1855.....	Nov. 28
1856.....	Nov. 30
1857.....	Dec. 5
1858.....	Dec. 14
1859.....	Dec. 8
1860.....	Dec. 1
1861 ..	Dec. 3
1862.....	Dec. 4
1863.....	Dec. 2
1864.....	Dec. 1
1865.....	Dec. 2
1866.....	Dec. 3
1867.....	Nov. 22
1868.....	Nov. 25
1869.....	Nov. 26
1870.....	Nov. 28
1871.....	Nov. 26
1872.....	Nov. 24
1873.....	Nov. 18
1874.....	Nov. 21
1875.....	Nov. 23

COST OF GOVERNMENT PIERS, 1853-54.

According to a Return made to Parliament, they cost with repairs up to the 31st December, 1859, as follows :—

Name.	Construction.		
	£	s.	d.
Pier at Malbaie	11034	17	0
do Eboulements	14578	2	9
do Berthier	7791	17	1
do L'Islet.....	26096	6	11
do Pointe aux Orignaux.....	52982	3	0
do Rivière-du-Loup.....	39113	1	9
do Rimouski.....	25611	4	0
General expenditure at Berthier, L'Islet, Pointe aux Orignaux and Rivière-du-Loup	1524	0	2
Superintendence, Engineering, &c.....	10145	4	3
	£188886	16	11
	or \$755547.39		

To this is be added \$70891 for repairs, making the total expense of these works, \$836,438.

NUMBER AND TONNAGE of Vessels loaded and cleared at and from the Port of Quebec, from the opening to the close of Navigation, for 1875.
(From G. S. Pierce's Annual Circular)

FOR GREAT BRITAIN, &C.

Messrs.	Vessels.	Tons.
R. R. Dobell & Co.....	140	72794
(And part cargoes of 49 steamships.)		
John Sharples, Sons & Co.....	108	72795
John Burstall & Co.....	91	75287
Allan Gilmour & Co.....	60	53715
Ross & Co.—J. R. & Co. & J. R	55	42607
Roberts, Smith & Co.....	33	24392
Carbray & Routh	49	38478
Henry Fry & Co	17	13168
C. W. Wilson	18	8932
James Connolly	18	11570
Allans, Rae & Co., O. S., &c.....	74	105743
W. M. Macpherson (D. O. S.S. Co).....	21	37292
Hamilton Bros	12	8056
A. F. A. Keith	6	3708
Pemberton & Co.....	7	2481
J. McLaren.....	11	10161
D. D. Calvin & Co.....	7	7309
Robertson & Co.....	3	1961
Price Bros. & Co.....	6	2180
D. R. McLeod.....	2	2292
J. J. Bew.....	2	2466
Masters, &c.....	39	24805
Total.....	779	615098

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